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Bound Bodies: Book Use And The Early Modern Reader, 1450-1660

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BOUND BODIES: BOOK USE AND THE EARLY MODERN READER, 1450-1660

by

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DEDICATION

To my family for all their support

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Much as I argue that reading is a many-bodied act, the writing of this dissertation was not a solitary act and would not have been completed without the support of my friends, family, and mentors. I am also grateful for the funding provided through the SPARC Graduate Research Grant, the English Department, and the Folger Shakespeare Library for making my research possible.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the act of reading during the early modern period. Examining both the text block and the margins of printed pages, this project contends that early modern reading practices create a hybrid book/body circuit. The texts selected for this project provide a depiction of not only how the act of reading functioned during the early modern period but also reveal the manner in which reading was presented to audiences and readers on the stage and printed page. This project resists a linear, chronological narrative of the act of reading and instead makes evident different versions of reading and the kind of hybridity that reading involves. The chapters in my dissertation move from exploring how the act of reading was presented on the stage to how the resulting hybrid book/body functioned once formed; the project then examines how a play functions on the printed page and acts as a prescriptive reading manual in order to participate in the formation of early modern readers' identities. I conclude by studying a specific commonplace book owner, Edward Pudsey, to show not only how an early modern reader used playtexts to construct a notion of the self but also how by considering commonplace books as the material manifestation of the hybrid book/body the text of the commonplace book should be considered a single authored work and not merely a knitting together of a variety of other authors' works.

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION: FORMING THE HYBRID BOOK/BODY CIRCUIT

“For books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them.”

-Milton, 1644

This dissertation explores the act of reading during the early modern period. This project resists a linear, chronological narrative of the act of reading and instead makes evident different versions of reading; it shows different responses to reading and the kind of hybridity that reading involves. Examining both the text block and the margins of printed pages, this project contends that early modern reading practices create a hybrid book/body circuit. Both Serres’ and Latour’s conception of “quasi-objects” and “quasi-subjects” have shaped my conception of the relationship between books and bodies.¹ Drawing upon Latour’s emphasis on the networks and interconnectedness of things and humans,² I have developed the notion of the hybrid book/body circuit.³ In Serres’ and Latour’s terms the circulation or networks created by texts and bodies creates the hybrid being. Serres argues, “This quasi-object, when being passed, makes the collective, if it

¹ See Bruno Latour, “The Berlin Key or How to Do Words with Things,” trans. Lydia Davis, in *Matter, Materiality, and Modern Culture*, ed. P.M. Graves-Brown (London, 2000); Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Michel Serres, *Parasite* trans. Lawrence R. Schehr (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982).

² Latour asserts, “Consider things and you will have humans. Consider humans, and you are by that very act interested in things.” “The Berlin Key,” 20.

³ The use of the term “circuit” is indebted to Robert Darnton’s discussion of the “communication circuit,” to be discussed later in this chapter.

stops, it makes the individual.”⁴ For Serres, circulation erases the individual. In my own model of the hybrid book/body circuit, I contend that the act of reading involves a series of stops; although the book is in circulation, it does not continuously remain so. In the push and pull that develops between the creation of both a communal reading group (or “collective” in Serres’ terms) and the formation of self, the ideal text (or Text) is what makes the collective; each physical, material text makes the individual.⁵ The book serves as an artificial device, which augments the reader’s mind, but it does not serve merely as an augmentation; the book also retains elements of the human. Every physical text is a unique artifact; interacting with the text develops a notion of self, facilitating mutual growth and change. In a society consistently preoccupied with the problems of seeming versus being, early modern books present themselves as being able to be read to result in an act of creation that makes the inner self potentially more visible and readable to others.

In order to investigate how the act of reading was conceived of during the time period, this project uses early modern tragedies as its foundation. Why plays, and even more specifically, why tragedies? Plays provide a medium, which is multivalent in nature. There is an ambiguity of performance. People watch others on stage, and then the action is reimagined. Each performance can vary, giving rise to a multitude of possibilities and interpretations. Reading (as writing) are a performative space. Most importantly, the different mediums a play goes through is reflective of the hybrid book/body circuit (moving from manuscript to aural/oral to being re-formed by publishers and printers to the resulting playtext book). The play itself goes through a re-embodiment and re-

⁴ Serres, 225.

⁵ Serres continues by stating that “Everyone is on the edge of his or her inexistence. But the ‘I’ as such is not suppressed. It still circulates, in and by the quasi-object. This thing can be forgotten. It is on the ground, and the one who picks it up and keeps it becomes the only subject, the master, the despot, the god,” 228.

mediation. Reading is a disfiguring act and its negative potential aligns well with the violence depicted on the stage in early modern tragedies. Recent scholars have argued that reading during the early modern period should be viewed as an act of cutting.⁶ I agree with this argument but would like to take it further and contend that early modern tragedies' backdrop of carnage allowed playwrights to warn readers of the potential negative creations capable of being produced through reading. Reading creates hybrid bodies and involves dismemberment and re-membering; and while this does not always have to function as a negative force, reading has the power to be a dangerous act. My project is not about good or bad readers but rather about *use*. People read differently, but the point is that they are all readers. Examining early modern playwrights' tragedies allows the audience to be forewarned about the potential tragic consequences of improper reading. The act of reading is a negotiation where change is enacted upon both reader and text, ultimately creating a new hybrid body. Early modern plays make evident that texts were imagined as becoming lifelike (becoming human): texts have the ability to influence and are capable of action,⁷ and in the reverse, early modern peoples often aligned their own experiences with that of books.⁸

In arguing that both entities contain elements of the other, thereby creating a new hybrid entity, it may perhaps be useful to turn to Giuseppe Arcimboldo's *Librarian*

⁶ See Jeffrey Todd Knight. *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). Juliet Fleming claims that we should use the metaphor of "cutting" for reading, noting that early modern readers held no anxieties about cutting books. See Fleming, "Afterword." *HLQ* 73.3 (Sept. 2010): 543. Ann Blair sees the act as destructive while Adam Smyth feels it is a part of the history of reading that has been "largely overlooked." See Blair, "Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload, ca. 1550-1700." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003), 11-28 and Smyth " 'Rend and teare in peeces': Textual Fragmentation in Seventeenth-Century England," *The Seventeenth Century* 19 (2004): 36-52. Perhaps the most overt example of reading as an act of cutting occurs with the Little Gidding Harmonies. The women of this community composed texts by cutting up various printed Gospels and reassembled the pieces to create a continuous narrative.

⁷ The Cardinal's Bible kills Julia in *The Duchess of Malfi*.

⁸ See also Frederick Kiefer. *Writing on the Renaissance Stage: Written Word, Printed Page, Metaphoric Books* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996).

(c.1566) (see Figure 1.1).⁹ The figure in this painting is composed almost entirely of books,¹⁰ or, to put it another way, a multitude of books are brought together to form a human figure. This painting encapsulates key components of my argument for this project—most significantly the figure is neither fully human nor fully book, rather it is a hybrid figure composed of elements from both entities.

The hat atop the figure, or what could instead be considered representative of the figure's mind, is literally an open book. Its pages are splayed open and the book clasps hang loose from the binding. The hat/mind is representative of books, which contain their own agency. The visibly bookmarked passages suggest that the hat/mind is receptive to outside forces (other readers and texts), and through its effort to influence what is considered important in the text, it can also serve to influence those same external forces. Conversely, most of the books that compose the torso of the body and whose fore-edges are visible to the viewer are clasped shut, attempting to construct a barrier between book and reader. The keys used for the figure's eyes reinforce this effort to restrict knowledge. This attempt at restricting knowledge and preventing the circulation of texts (and thereby the development of the self) is a demonstration of the denial of the porousness of both bodies (book and man) that is often evident in early modern drama. The figure's hat/mind, however, belies this attempt at constructing boundaries and instead reinforces the permeable nature of the hybrid book/body. The keys also suggest an ambiguity, which

⁹ No official title for this painting has been found in written records until the twentieth century, when Olof Granberg catalogued the collections at Skokloster Castle. The title given by Granberg has thus influenced modern interpretations of the work. K. C. Elhard's "Reopening the Book on Arcimboldo's *Librarian*" attempts to provide a new interpretation of the famous painting, one that is not an interpretation of the work "as a parody of librarianship and of intellectualism" nor a satiric portrait of an historical person but rather one that provides a generic portrait of "anyone associated with book ownership, anyone with a personal collection." K.C. Ellhard, "Reopening the Book on Arcimboldo's *Librarian*," *Libraries & Culture* 40.2 (Spring 2005): note 4, 123; 115; 119.

¹⁰ Arcimboldo's self-portrait (or "Man of Letters," c. 1587) is composed entirely of slips of paper.

reinforces the hybrid book/body's ability to be both/and, by their capability to both lock away and open up. The hand on the visible arm is ineffectual, as the fingers are composed of flimsy bookmarks/slips of paper; this impassivity, however, is undercut by



Figure 1.1 Giuseppe Arcimboldo's *Librarian* (c.1566)

acknowledging the dual nature of the hybrid. The hidden arm, ostensibly covered by the curtain around the figure's shoulder, suggests in its invisibility the ability to create, to act. Focusing on the visible hand further also highlights the inherent violence fundamental to

the act of reading as the hand itself appears dismembered with “fingers” detached from the main hand and placed in the book above.

The multitude of books and objects used to create the *Librarian* is reflective of reading being a many-bodied act. Robert Darnton suggests this with his claim that there is a “communication circuit”—or life phase—of the book, starting from the conception of the text by the author and moving eventually to the reception of the text by its readers.¹¹ Darnton argues that “[t]he reader completes the circuit, because he influences the author both before and after the act of composition.”¹² Darnton, however, does not adequately account for the material aspect of the book. In the visual depiction of this circuit, he in fact focuses on the *people* who affect the text—the publisher, printers, suppliers, shippers, booksellers, readers, the binder, and author—but does not portray the working force the *book* has on these people, especially on the reader. The book acts as another agent within this circuit; one where the book is tied to its physical, embodied, and bodily nature. Other scholars have noted this lack in Darnton’s diagram, including Darnton himself.¹³ Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker, who revised Darnton’s model, do consider the object of the book itself.¹⁴ However, current scholarship has not fully acknowledged the agency available to both the book and the body and their ability to each impart qualities onto the other.

¹¹ Robert Darnton, “What is the History of Books?” *Daedalus* 111.3 (Summer 1982): 65-83. See page 68 for a figure of the “communication circuit.” Similarly, Simon Eliot argues that the reading of books “represents a very complex feedback loop” (“The R.E.D., or what are we to do about the history of reading?” <http://www.open.ac.uk/ARTS/RED/redback.htm> Accessed 8 November 2012).

¹² Darnton, “What is the History of Books?”, 67. See page 68 for a figure of the “communication circuit.”

¹³ See Robert Darnton, “‘What is the History of Books?’ Revisited,” *Modern Intellectual History* 4.3 (Nov. 2007): 495-508.

¹⁴ See “A New Model for the Study of the Book,” *A Potencie of Life: Books on Society*, Ed. Nicolas Barker (London: The British Library, 1993).

Texts have been made from other lives and are also intimately tied to the human body (demonstrating the cycle and transference of life). A variety of bodies are also represented visually on the page in the marginalia of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance—from the bodies sticking out of initials to manicules placed around the page. Michael Camille asserts that at the level of the page there is a “mingling of bodies of discourse as reading became a kind of writing”;¹⁵ I contend that in the early modern period this is not just a “mingling” of bodies interacting but one that creates a new, hybrid body. Additionally, it is important to remember that books were actually produced from bodies—“the parchment pages [...] were stretched and treated skin of animals. Inks and colors were often produced with human spittle and urine [...] the manuscript is a product of the hands and body of human labor that have registered every pressure point of contact upon the flesh itself.”¹⁶ The parchment in manuscript texts can also literally move on its own, demonstrating its ability to effect action; changing temperatures and the humidity in a room can cause the parchment to expand and the books (if they are without clasps) to move along the shelves—sometimes as quickly as in the span of a few hours.¹⁷ Books’ physical ties to the human body are also present in printed books’ pages, which were made from rags (recycled clothing) off their future owners’ bodies.

That early modern reading practices created a text that transforms into an extension of a reader’s body reinforced the concurrent shift in the understanding of the human body that occurred between the end of the fifteenth and the end of the seventeenth

¹⁵ Michael Camille, “Glossing the Flesh: Scopophilia and the Margins of the Medieval Book.” *The Margins of the Text*. ed. D. C. Greetham (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan Press, 2007), 257.

¹⁶ Camille, “Glossing the Flesh,” 259.

¹⁷ Many thanks to Heather Wolfe who showed me evidence of this in the Folger vault.

century. As Jonathan Sawday has noted, “the birth of a ‘new science’ of the human body...transform[ed] entirely people’s understanding not only of themselves, and their sense of identity or ‘selfhood’, but of the relationship of their minds to their bodies, and even their feeling of location in human society and the natural world.”¹⁸ The study of the history of the human body is itself expressly tied up with books. Prior to the sixteenth century, those who were in the medical field used books, not bone and flesh, in their study of the human body. As late as 1509 it was still a common practice to see the lecturer reading from an ancient text distinctly separate from the physical labor the surgeon performed on the body. As Richard Sugg argues, the connection between the body and the book is one that can be seen even in the use of language.¹⁹ The *OED* notes that the word “section” in 1559 referred to “[t]he action, or an act, of cutting or dividing” in relation to “surgery or anatomical operations,” but by 1576 the word refers to “a subdivision of a written or printed work.”²⁰ By 1577 books begin to advertise themselves as having “sections,” demonstrating how the boundaries between body and book can be blurred.²¹

“In books I find the dead as if they were alive”: Traces of Readers

Books become hybrid bodies through the act of reading, and the physical traces of that act are most evident in early modern annotations in texts. My examination of early modern marginalia pushes the boundaries of text and margins to include early modern

¹⁸ Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1995), viii-ix.

¹⁹ Richard Sugg, *Murder After Death: Literature and Anatomy in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2007), 2.

²⁰ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “section”, accessed 15 October 2012, <http://www.oed.com/>.

²¹ Sugg, *Murder After Death*, 3.

commonplace books, establishing that the act of reading itself results in the creation of new texts. Current scholarly assessment of early modern marginalia fixates on whether the annotations relate to the text itself.²² The development of this type of binary impedes a deeper understanding of the act of reading during the early modern period. The hybrid book/body circuit does not allow for any distinct dividing point between book and body, annotations relating to the text, and annotations seemingly outside of the text. That the majority of early modern annotations do not appear to relate to the texts that they are found in demonstrates the readers used the printed page as a way to work out their developing notions of the self. The reader becomes part of the text, making the text a part of the reader's body—a part that functions as a form of prosthesis. The markings that have been left behind by early modern readers are traces of their bodily imprints upon the text. Julie Singer's discussion of the "transhuman"—"the addition of *something* to the body in order to make it different [and] to enhance its capacities"²³—fits well here with my argument in that it supports the notion that adding the book to the body creates a new, hybrid being.²⁴

By focusing on early modern marginalia and extending the margins of the book to commonplace books, I see writing as a function of reading, demonstrating reading's generative, creative capabilities. Even if a reader is not explicitly writing in the text in

²² One of the primary obstacles to the study of early modern marginalia is that there remains no consistent cataloguing practice for noting marginalia.

²³ Julie Singer, "Toward a Transhuman Model of Medieval Disability," *postmedieval* 1(1-2): 175.

²⁴ Differing from David T. Mitchell and Sharon L. Snyder's notion of prosthesis in *Narrative Prosthesis: Disability and the Dependencies of Discourse* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan Press, 2001), Singer wants to turn to a "somewhat more literal notion of prosthesis" and uses the example of the fourteenth century poem by Guillaume de Machaut, *Voir Dit*. The one-eyed lover in *Voir Dit* uses the material text of his poems to supplement for his own physical lack—he sends poems to his lover in "round," eye-shaped pieces. The lover forms a "compilation of his book-body," demonstrating how books can literally become extensions of readers' bodies. Singer, 177, 178.

some way, shape, or form, the reader *is* marking the text. Ann Boleyn, for example, marked some of her books by underlining parts of the text with her fingernails.²⁵ Kathryn Rudy's work on medieval manuscripts, employing a densitometer to study the often slightly less visible marks left behind by book users, addresses non-textual traces of users interacting with the codex.²⁶ Marks can include anything from oils to fingerprints, food stains, tears, and even blood stains—all of which serve to indicate not only what parts of a text a reader read and how often the text was read but also indicates further how reader and text imprint upon one another.²⁷ The bodily remnants on the page demonstrate the numerous ways in which readers left their marks on books, mingling physical representations of the body with representations of the inward self; for example, inky fingerprints are commonly found in early modern texts, as is the occasional hair.²⁸

By examining early modern reading practices, I want to argue that we should consider books as extensions of readers' bodies. Marking texts creates a fusion of multiple bodies. This creates a poly-vocal text—one that fits with the Renaissance notion of authorship as collective practice; there is, as Peter Rabinowitz observes, a “communal

²⁵ See Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 205.

²⁶ Rudy notes that this method is not without its drawbacks, stating that of the 200 manuscripts she looked at in order to write her article, “Dirty Books” only about 10% of the data was usable. Kathryn Rudy, “Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer,” *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Arts* 2 (2010): 19.

²⁷ The British Library's MS Egerton 1821 serves as a good example of the other types of book use that go beyond annotations. This book of devotion (c.1490) contains three black painted pages, which start off the book, with blood droplets running down the pages. The third page shows evidence of extreme use, perhaps from being kissed. The page eventually transforms into bloodied backgrounds for the illuminations. “Treasures Known and Unknown in the British Library.” <http://www.Prodigy.bl.uk/illcat/TourKnownC.asp/> Accessed 1 December 2012.

²⁸ Some examples include the following: The Bodleian's copy of the 1596 *Faerie Queene* (Vet. A1 e.156) contains a hair embedded in the page on Bb2r and a fingerprint on the verso. The Folger's copy of the 1582 *Hekatompathia* (STC 2518a, copy 2) contains a hair embedded in the paper in the upper right hand corner of D4r. There is an inky fingerprint in the top right corner of the Folger's 1607 copy of *Bussy D'Ambois* (STC 4966), as well as in their copy of *The Bloodie Banquet* (STC 6181, copy 2) at A3r, and a partial palm print on H2r of their 1631 copy of *Doctor Faustus* (STC 17436). The Library of Congress' 1572 copy of *The Ship of Fools* also contains a fingerprint on aii[v].

nature of reading and writing.”²⁹ Readers and texts enter into a conversation with each other and participate in the formation of the other. Instances where readers have annotated texts with their own personal life accounts and placed these next to corresponding moments in the text clearly shows a collapse between the worlds of the reader and the text itself—the two have become one. However, as stated earlier, direct correlation between the printed content and readers’ annotations is not often the case. Jeffrey Todd Knight has noted that Renaissance book use goes beyond that of their printed content and argues that we should consider books as storage devices.³⁰ While books can be viewed as storage devices, I contend that this sort of terminology implies that these pieces of “furniture” can be separated from the body of a reader. An early modern reader, however, becomes bound to the book and vice versa through the reader’s use of the text. Knight’s claim would suggest that reader and text can be divorced; however, I do not see texts as merely storehouses of information to be referred back to at particular times. The act of reading creates a new, different hybrid being. Writing about the British Library’s copy of Sidney’s *Astrophil and Stella*, Knight observes that the copy contains “household memos, notes on grafting and husbandry, legal documents, and many other things,” and suggests that the book’s “wooden boards and large brass clasps...[make it] rather more closely to resemble a chest.”³¹ At the heart of Knight’s critique is his dissatisfaction with naming such a hybrid text a miscellany—considering it

²⁹ Peter J. Rabinowitz, *Before Reading: Narrative Conventions and the Politics of Interpretation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 23.

³⁰ See Jeffrey Todd Knight, “‘Furnished’ for Action: Renaissance Books as Furniture” *Book History* 12 (2009): 37-73. Similarly Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith refer to books as being capable of “carr[ying] miscellaneous contents as regularly as bags and boxes did.” *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), 1.

³¹ Knight, 43.

as a piece of furniture seems to get more closely to what Knight sees these texts accomplishing for early modern readers; however, by pushing the argument further, the British Library's copy of *Astrophil and Stella* serves not merely as a storehouse but as an extension of the family's memory: the book becomes a living ancestor.

Recent scholars who have attempted to avoid simply dismissing textually unrelated marginalia often cannot go beyond their modern biases, indicating an unwillingness to reformulate the act of reading. More often than not current scholarship creates a binary when describing early modern marginalia: it is either "good" or "bad" depending on its relationship to the text.³² This is reflected in Knight's statement that "the fact is that much of the writing left behind for us in Renaissance books has less to do with reading (let alone imitating) a text than with using it as a material object; often in pursuit of some practical, everyday goal."³³ This too gives a more passive capacity to books—also in line with Knight's assessment. Viewing books simply as "carriers" does not assign them any sort of agency—they are instead here simply viewed as receptacles to hold various notes, trifles, and memories.

By following my proposed model—viewing books as prosthesis—"unrelated" marginalia is no longer so—the marginalia is part of the life of the hybrid book/reader. My project seeks to intervene in the scholarly conversation regarding early modern reading by asserting that these seemingly irrelevant marginalia instead demonstrate that

³² Discussing a Bodleian manuscript of Gower's *Vox Clamantis*, Knight notes that a sixteenth century owner has filled pages with recipes—"in *utter disregard* for the book's content," emphasis added, 45.

³³ In a similar vein, Bill Sherman notes, "while I tried to take note of the presence of owner's signatures and of nonverbal markings, I was primarily concerned with *more substantial* annotations," emphasis added, 120. In his discussion of the Huntington's copy of Amadis de Gaula's work (HEH RB 12924) and the verso of the final page, Sherman transcribes the meaty annotations but doesn't bother to analyze or interpret the pen trials and other marks except to mention them in passing: "At least two early readers have filled the page with scribbles, penmanship exercises, and a set of surprisingly complex notes of ownership," 124. William Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

the act of reading facilitated the development of a reader's identity. The desire to want to fix "valuable" marginalia as those directly related to the text reflects modern values and places the author above reader. Considering all annotations—even those that may "not always [be] interesting to us"—develops a more complete picture of how early modern readers read and constructed their identities.³⁴

In arguing that "[b]oth hand and quill are instruments,"³⁵ Jonathan Goldberg points to the dehumanizing, almost cyborg-like effect that reading has on the body.³⁶ In Goldberg's examination of the act of writing in the Renaissance, he suggests that writing manuals depict hands as free floating agents, cut off from the rest of the body; this representative dismemberment both dehumanizes the reader and facilitates the creation of a new entity, the book/body hybrid. Goldberg also notes the violence inherent in writing: "At a basic material level, then, writing begins with a tool of violence, the knife or razor, and it produces the point of the quill as another cutting edge."³⁷ This violence can also be extended to the process of printing books and the many bodies involved in the production of books. Viewing reading as writing, and therefore as an active process that involves the assembling of a self, demonstrates that the violence Goldberg associates with writing is actually an extension of the violence already present in the text. However, while reading may have violent tendencies, it is up to the reader to recuperate that violence and reshape

³⁴ Sherman, 131. Sherman writes that "One of the most pervasive—and problematic—features of Renaissance marginalia is that by no means all of the notes left behind by readers engage directly with the text they accompany, and *more have to do with the life of the reader than the life of the text*," and concludes his essay by stating that "Many of the traces of Renaissance reading will remain visible, indecipherable, or (*worst of all*) boring," emphasis added, 130, 133.

³⁵ Jonathan Goldberg. *Writing Matter: From the Hands of the English Renaissance*. (Stanford University Press, 1991), 59.

³⁶ For a discussion of the cyborg see Susan Crane's argument regarding medieval knighthood in "Chivalry and the Pre/Postmodern" *postmedieval* (2011) 2: 69–87.

³⁷ Goldberg, 74.

it into a more positive, generative force. While the printed book in the Renaissance is often described as a malleable object in recent scholarship, extending the malleability to the reader in order to demonstrate each entity's permeable nature is not often frequently discussed.³⁸ The reader's presence both inside *and* outside the text creates a slippage that has contributed to scholars overlooking the malleability of readers.

“To burn with such desire for books”: Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon*

Although it is not an early modern playtext, which remain the focus of my project, Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon* (1344/5) allows us to see the evolution of approaches to reading and its influence in shaping early modern reading practices. While the *Philobiblon* was composed in the fourteenth century, it went through five editions between the end of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries (three of which were printed in the span of 12 years).³⁹ Beginning at the end of de Bury's text makes evident that he uses the personal to tie himself to his work:

The end of the *Philobiblon* of Master Richard de Aungerville, surnamed de Bury, late Bishop of Durham. This treatise was finished in our manorhouse of Auckland on the 24th day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and forty-four, the fifty-eight year of our

³⁸ For example, in their discussion of Thomas Milles' hybrid print and manuscript publications, Heather Wolfe and Bill Sherman state, "It is now a commonplace that texts were inherently malleable in early modern England regardless of their manuscript or print origins" 482. See Sherman and Wolfe, "The Department of Hybrid Books: Thomas Milles between Manuscript and Print" *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 45.3 (September 2015): 457-485. Jeffrey Todd Knight also argues that the book was "a thing to actively shape, expand, and resituate as one desired," 4. In his essay, "Back to the Future—Littorally," William W.E. Slights discusses both printed marginalia and readers' added annotations and argues that "marginalia brought the quality of permeability to the page [. . . and] created leakage both into and out of the centred text." This permeability should also extend to the reader, as the reader is both affected by the text and affects the text itself. William W.E. Slights, "Back to the Future—Littorally: Annotating the Historical Page." *The Future of the Page*, Ed. Peter Stoicheff and Andrew Taylor (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004): 72.

³⁹ Over a roughly 200-year period (1473-1674), the *Philobiblon* goes through five editions, but only one of these, the 1599 edition, is printed in England. The text's popularity on the Continent was not only in printed books—of the 35 known extant manuscript copies of the *Philobiblon*, the vast majority are of foreign provenance.

age being exactly completed, and the eleventh year of our pontificate drawing to an end; to the glory of God. Amen. (71)⁴⁰

The explicit personal connections to the text, achieved specifically through reference to his birthday, suggest that the *Philobiblon* functions as a sort of textual rebirth for de Bury. The creation of this text has fashioned him anew. While de Bury provides an impassioned case for restricting and regulating the use of books, by examining the language he uses to describe what he views as abuses made toward books, evidence is made apparent for the hybrid book/body.

The *Philobiblon* is a treatise divided into twenty chapters written to justify the author's devotion to his books to his detractors. As E.C. Thomas has stated, "No man has ever carried to a higher pitch of enthusiasm the passion for collecting books."⁴¹ Evidence from ten extant copies of the *Philobiblon* that I have examined at the British Library, Bodleian Library, and Folger Shakespeare Library (in both manuscript and print forms) makes evident that the act of reading is a negotiation between multiple bodies, which results in the formation of a new hybrid body. De Bury's attempts to block this negotiation creates a connection between his work and that of early modern plays. Both express an anxiety about the creation of hybrid bodies through the act of reading, resulting in the attempt at setting boundaries, which are ultimately transgressed. De Bury's refusal to acknowledge the hybrid body in many ways makes him similar to the titular character of *Doctor Faustus*, whom I discuss in my third chapter. De Bury's attempted usurpation of the role of readers suggests an anxiety over whether he will be able to maintain a singular influence on his own books. Reading provides a reader with

⁴⁰ All citations from the *Philobiblon*, unless otherwise noted, are from: Richard de Bury, *The Love of Books: The Philobiblon of Richard de Bury*. Ed. Matthew Battles (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2006).

⁴¹ E.C. Thomas, trans., *Richard de Bury's Philobiblon*, (London: K. Paul, Trench and Company, 1888): xxxi.

the ability to compose a self through the fragmentation of text. Readers must select which bits of text relate to them the most and knit those pieces together to form a new hybrid book/body that is reflective of their identities.

Born in 1287, Richard was the son of Sir Richard Aungervile, a knight. De Bury completed his education at Oxford, and according to some sources, became a Benedictine monk at Durham. In 1322 de Bury became tutor to the future Edward III; once de Bury's student became king, he received a series of quickly successive appointments: first as Cofferer to the King, then Keeper of the Wardrobe, and then Keeper of the Privy Seal. In 1333 he became ambassador to the papal court at Avignon and was appointed Bishop of Durham. Although "during de Bury's time, the number of books owned by the lesser clergy averaged nine each,"⁴² a contemporary account, the *Chronica sui Temporis* of Adam de Muimuth, notes that de Bury "gathered unto himself an infinite number of books, as well by gift as by borrowing from divers monasteries and by buying, insomuch that five great wagons were not enough for the carriage of his own books."⁴³ De Bury was also known for using public office to expand his library—gifts of books were noted as helping to expedite one's case.⁴⁴ The Bishop's lavish tastes in books meant that he died in debt in 1345 and further connects the relationship between book and self.⁴⁵

In Chapter 16 of the *Philobiblon*, de Bury gets closest to acknowledging the generative act of reading. Using terms that express family relations, de Bury notes that

⁴² Michael Camille, "The Book as Flesh and Fetish in Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon*," *The Book and Body*, Ed. D.W. Frese and K. O'Brien O'Keefe (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997): 44.

⁴³ Thomas, 338.

⁴⁴ Cheney, 325.

⁴⁵ The *Chronica sui Temporis* also notes that "as the end of his life drew nigh, those of his household carried away all his moveable goods, so that dying he had nothing to cover his body withal, save an undershirt of a lackey who stayed in his chamber." Thomas, 338.

it is needful to replace the volumes that are worn out with age by fresh successors, that the perpetuity of which the individual is by its nature incapable may be secured to the species; and hence it is that the Preacher says; “Of making many books there is no end.” [...] And thus the transcription of ancient books is at it were the begetting of fresh sons, on whom the office of the father may devolve, lest it suffer detriment. (57)

In this passage de Bury acknowledges the desire to establish a traceable lineage for texts as part of a hybrid self-making project—a desire that I examine more fully in my fourth chapter as it is represented in *Hamlet*; however, he aligns this renewing and regenerative force with transcription (the strict copying of parent texts) rather than expanding it to reading (and its creative process) in general.

Early on in the *Philobiblon* de Bury makes clear that when he speaks of books he “do[es] not now mean the materials of which they are made” (9); this is one of the first boundaries or separations that de Bury attempts to establish, which are representative of the boundaries attempted to be placed between books and bodies. De Bury’s writings express a desire to maintain firm boundaries between the text and the physical book, but they also make evident the inability to maintain such boundaries due to the permeable nature of both the book and body. De Bury’s boundaries are often met with contradictions. Here the desire to create an abstract notion of the texts (of Truth itself) is directly contradicted by de Bury’s move to give books bodies and voices;⁴⁶ he also make them susceptible to disease—grounding them wholly in the physical, material world:

we have to mourn for the homes of which we have been unjustly robbed; and as to our coverings, not that they have not been given to us, but that the coverings anciently given to us have been torn by violent hands, insomuch that our soul is bowed down to the dust, our belly cleaveth into the earth. We suffer from various diseases, enduring pains in our backs

⁴⁶ In “The Book as Flesh and Fetish in Richard de Bury’s *Philobiblon*,” Michael Camille argues that “There are no actual books in this treatise on the love of books, only the echo of voices.” It is de Bury’s own voice that is projected onto the books—to use Camille’s term it becomes a sort of “ventriloquism.” Camille, 40, 50.

and sides; we lie with our limbs unstrung by palsy, and there is no man who layeth to heart, and no man who provides a mollifying plaster (16-17)

The violence de Bury sees inflicted upon books is indicative of the potential negative consequences of reading, which is illustrated in this project by examining early modern tragedies.⁴⁷

De Bury desires to keep books only to those whom he deems worthy of interaction with texts. The zealousness with which he provides a list of complaints regarding the misuse of books suggests his own anxieties about not being the sole influencer of his books. De Bury's rather vivid picture of how not to handle books is at its most apparent in Chapter 17: "Of Showing Due Propriety in the Custody of Books," where he begins by reminding the reader that it "behoves us to guard a book much more carefully than a boot" (60). Continuing de Bury says,

You may happen to see some headstrong youth lazily lounging over his studies, and when the winter's frost is sharp, his nose running from the nipping cold drips down, nor does he think of wiping it with his pocket-handkerchief until he has bedewed the book before him with the ugly moisture. Would that he had before him no book, but a cobbler's apron! His nails are stuffed with fetid filth as black as jet, with which he marks any passage that pleases him. (60-61)

De Bury finishes this passage by complaining about those who eat or drink over a book, bend pages, or use books to press flowers. This chapter in particular makes evident de Bury's desire to prevent the reader's interaction, or dialogue, with books. De Bury wants books to be approached with reverence rather than something, or perhaps even someone,

⁴⁷ This violence sometimes involves the literal dismemberment of text. See the Little Gidding Harmonies. A digitized copy is available via the Houghton Library at [http://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:45243608\\$1i](http://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:45243608$1i). These harmonies were composed by cutting up the gospels (taken from a variety of Bibles) and arranging them into a chronological narrative.

that can be entered into a conversation with.⁴⁸ No matter how he may try to prevent the reader from affecting the text, as Michael Camille states, “the open body of the book [is] penetrable and unprotected.”⁴⁹

Rather than acknowledging that the book and reader affect each other leading to the development of self, de Bury wants to produce readers made in his image; his focus is on producing exact copies (transcriptions) rather than allowing the creative generative force of reading take place. His text is so appealing to me because he argues against some of the very practices of reading I am interested in examining—that of readers’ marks in texts; he complains that “there is a class of thieves shamefully mutilating books, who cut away the margins from the sides to use as material for letters, leaving only the text, or employ the leaves from the ends, inserted for the protection of the book, for various uses and abuses—a kind of sacrilege which should be prohibited by the threat of anathema” (62). His example leaves the text vulnerable—the author’s work is at risk with no protection or barrier to push out manipulation and reuse. De Bury once again is concerned with the violence enacted on books; his complaints express concern over others not following *his* rules for reading.

The copies I have examined in the archives would seem to support the idea that the reader is the final authority for a text, and however much de Bury may put forth a clear set of rules for how to handle books, readers clearly did not listen. The majority of annotations are evidence of the reader as editor—making corrections to the text and making it easier to read by adding in punctuation marks etcetera. I will, however, also

⁴⁸ de Bury after all does write in one of the most famous passages of the *Philobiblon* that “In books I find the dead as if they were alive” (5).

⁴⁹ Camille, “The Book as Flesh,” 58.

note that when compared to the other roughly 150 texts I consulted (of texts printed from 1450-1660), copies of the *Philobiblon* (and works it might be bound with) are generally less copiously annotated than other works. The sense that readers are at least not completely following de Bury's advice can be traced to the author himself not always adhering to his own rules.⁵⁰

De Bury's invectives against interactions with the text seem to elicit the exact opposite response; this is especially evident when looking at the manuscript copies of the *Philobiblon* (see Table 1.1). While the number of annotations contained within each codex is rather low, narrowing the focus to the *Philobiblon* shows the proportion of annotations contained within that text is extremely high. Of the five manuscripts that I examined, which range in date of composition from the very end of the fourteenth century to the mid-fifteenth century, only one manuscript's text of the *Philobiblon* was completely devoid of any sort of readers' marks (British Library MS Add MS 24361). This manuscript is comprised of 89 folios, but only 2% of the codex (which is a mix of English and Latin texts) contains readers' marks. Three out of four of the remaining manuscripts overwhelmingly contain the majority of the codex's annotations in the *Philobiblon* section.

⁵⁰ For example, in Chapter 4, de Bury writes that "we who are the light of faithful souls everywhere fall a prey to painters knowing nought of letters, and are entrusted to goldsmiths to become, as though we were not sacred vessels of wisdom, repositories of gold-leaf" (19), and yet de Bury himself employed illuminators.

Table 1.1 Annotations in Manuscripts of the *Philobiblon*

<i>Philobiblon</i> Manuscripts				
	Total Number of texts bound in manuscript	Percentage of text with annotations	Percentage of which is contained in the <i>Philobiblon</i>	Total Number of annotations
MS Add. 24361	9	2	0	10
Cotton MS App. IV	9	4	94	25
Royal MS 8 F XIV	27	3.5	57	37
Royal MS 15 C XVI	7	2.5	33	28
MS Add. C.108	7	7	66	159

The printed editions of the *Philobiblon* are more extreme in their depiction of readers' annotations. The split between copies that contain annotations and those that do not is nearly even; however, nearly all the annotated copies find those annotations in the *Philobiblon* (see Table 1.2). In 1473, roughly 128 years after its original composition, Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon* became one of the first printed secular texts. The Bodleian's copy (Auct 2 Q6.76) of this edition contains annotations over 38% of its pages. The other four printed editions of the *Philobiblon* that I consulted were also at the Bodleian. Two editions do not have any annotations; however, this does not mean that they did not show other signs of use. The 1598 edition, which is actually a unique copy the Bodleian possesses of the 1599 edition of the *Philobiblon*, contains pastedowns from

Latin texts on the inside covers, shows evidence of food and ink stains over numerous pages, as well as smudges and fingerprints from dirty hands—all things which de Bury rails against. De Bury’s treatise invites a contrary response, and the extant copies I have examined also demonstrate the reader’s control over the text and ability to shape it to their own desires.

Table 1.2 Annotations in Printed Editions of the *Philobiblon*

<i>Philobiblon</i> Printed Editions				
	Total Number of texts bound together	Percentage of text with annotations	Percentage of which is contained in the <i>Philobiblon</i>	Total Number of annotations
1473 edition	1	38	100	515
1598 edition	9	0	0	97
1599 edition (1)	1 +appendix	19	100	18
1599 edition (2)	1 +appendix	11	100	30
1599 edition (3)	1 +appendix	0	0	0
1610 edition	300 (miscellany)	0	0	0
1674 edition	1	0	0	0

The desire to shape readers in his own image and to privilege only those whom de Bury deems worthy of interacting with his text is evident in the text’s use of Latin, which excludes a large number of readers, mainly the laity to whom de Bury would be glad to see barred access to his work. In chapter 17 de Bury writes, “the laity, who look at a book turned upside down just as if it were open in the right way are utterly unworthy of any communion with books” (62). His use of the word “communion” implicitly suggests his acknowledgment that there exists a hybrid book/body, as it affirms the ability for the act of reading to be transformative.

While often bound with other works, the *Philobiblon*'s lack of primacy in these sammelbände suggests that it was not viewed as an authoritative and instructive source for reading the rest of the bound works. Whenever de Bury's work is bound with other works (which occurs in 7 out of 10 of the copies I looked at), only once was the *Philobiblon* placed as the preliminary text in these contemporary bindings. In fact the 1610 edition (Frankfurt) marks the time until the end of the nineteenth century when the *Philobiblon* "was not printed by itself, but only in collectaneous works."⁵¹ The *Philobiblon* becomes a text that readers mine for what they are interested in rather than treating it as a reading manual on how to read other texts. The traces of *Philobiblon* readers in the archives demonstrate their understanding of reading as a generative, creative process. In many ways de Bury can be aligned with a number of early modern playwrights who exhibited anxiety about the afterlives of their plays; however, while de Bury seeks to shut down any additional voices to his *Philobiblon* and attempts to deny the readers' ability to achieve communion with their books, I assert that early modern playwrights through their works provide models for readers that suggest both good practices and those better avoided—ultimately acknowledging that the reader designs his/her own self. Early modern plays were texts designed to be read—they were not just to be seen in performance.

Chapter Overviews

The texts selected for this project provide a depiction of not only how the act of reading functioned during the early modern period but also reveal the manner in which reading was presented to audiences and readers on the stage and printed page. The

⁵¹ Thomas, xlv.

chapters in this dissertation move from exploring how the act of reading was presented on the stage to how the resulting hybrid book/body functioned once formed; the project then examines how a play functions on the printed page and acts as a prescriptive reading manual in order to form identities. I conclude by studying a specific commonplace book owner to show how an early modern reader used playtexts to construct a notion of the self.

My second chapter demonstrates that early modern playwrights sought to provide instructive models or warnings on the potential dangers of reading. The extreme violence present on the stage in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* serves as a metaphor for the ability of the act of reading to produce monstrous creations. Pairing together these two plays allows us to recreate the circuited act of reading. Reading goes beyond taking in words on the page and leads to acts of interpretation, which then leads to acts of creation. The generative nature of reading can be seen in the anonymous *First Part of Ieronimo*, which I examine at the close of the chapter.

Moving from how the act of reading occurs, my third chapter examines how this act forms the hybrid book/body. In this chapter, I posit that the Bible served as the foundation that enabled early moderns to conceive of an entity as being capable of being both/and—the ability to be simultaneously a separate entity while also being capable of functioning as a combined whole. The Catholic imagery present in both Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* and Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* serves to highlight the transformative nature of reading through the plays' references to transubstantiation, reminding the audience of an object's ability to transform into living flesh. While one may initially pose the question of who or what has more agency (book or body), these plays instead show that books and readers form and fashion each other.

My fourth chapter moves from the stage to studying the physical, printed playtext. I contend that early modern playtexts function as prescriptive reading manuals, participating in the formation of subjects. While printed marks for *sententiae* suggest what the reader should extract from the text, the reader is not confined to these prescriptions. If readers, formerly audience members, watched the formation of selves on the stage, with the printed playtext in hand they are now able to participate in their own construction of self. By examining the printed *sententiae* in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, we see that readers create textual representations of themselves. In keeping with the hybrid book/body, these textual representations serve as a form of textual progeny.

My coda turns to a specific commonplace book owner, Edward Pudsey. I refrained in the main body of this project from focusing on specific early modern readers⁵² in order to develop claims about early modern reading practices at large and to better demonstrate the patterns of use as shown by “the great variety of readers” that Heminges and Condell address in Shakespeare's first folio.⁵³ I focus at the end of my project on a specific reader in order to illustrate how an early modern reader constructed his notion of self through his commonplace book. Previous work on Pudsey has focused on his extracts from Shakespeare and whether or not those extracts show fidelity to the source texts. In leaving his commonplace books to his son, Pudsey demonstrates a desire to connect his textual progeny with his living progeny and uses his commonplace book to create a living memory of himself for his son. In prioritizing the author over the reader,

⁵² See for example, Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, “‘Studied for Action’: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy,” *Past & Present* 129 (1990): 30-78.

⁵³ Eds. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), xliii.

we have ignored how readers themselves function as authors; viewing Pudsey as an author recuperates his commonplace book as a text to be studied on its own merits as a solely authored work.

CHAPTER 2:

“THEN I WILL RENT AND TEAR THEM THUS AND THUS”: REVENGE TRAGEDIES AND COMMONPLACE BOOKS

“What are these things of mine, in truth, but grotesques and monstrous bodies pieced together of diverse members, without definite shape, having no order, sequence, or proportion other than accidental?”

-Montaigne, *Essays*, 1580

Pairing two of the most violent early modern tragedies, *Titus Andronicus* and *The Spanish Tragedy*, reveals that the dismemberment present on the early modern stage serves as a metaphor for the act of reading. While many scholars have of late argued that reading should be viewed as an act of cutting, an emphasis on the violent fragmentation inherent in such an act and its reflection in the literature of the period has not been thoroughly investigated. The threat of dismemberment can also be seen through playwrights’ anxiety over the violation of their works.⁵⁴ While acting companies may not have viewed publication to be contrary to their interests, and playwrights, like Ben Jonson, “viewed the printing house as a positive alternative to the playhouse,” others, like Shakespeare, were more “reluctant” to publish their plays.⁵⁵ Despite the fact that the very

⁵⁴ For example, in *Every Man Out of His Humor*, Cordatus says, “Indeed, there are a sort of these narrow-eyed decipherers, I confess, that will extort strange and abstruse meanings out of any subject, be it never so conspicuous and innocently delivered. But to such—where’er they sit concealed—let them know the author defies them and their writing-tables, and hopes no sound or safe judgment will infect itself with their contagious comments, who, indeed, come here only to pervert and poison the sense of what they hear, and for nought else” (2.2.387-396). Ben Jonson, *Every Man Out of His Humor*. Ed. Helen Ostovich (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).

⁵⁵ Douglas Brooks discusses the myths that created the concept of “good” quartos versus “bad” quartos and asserts that one of the “unfounded myths” related to that idea was acting companies’ resistance to publication. See *From Playhouse to Printing House: Drama and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). 6, 9. On the popularity of play books in the early modern period see the debate between Blayney and Farmer and Lesser. Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, “The Popularity of Playbooks Revisited” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56.1 (Spring 2005): 1-32. And Peter W. M. Blayney, “The Alleged Popularity of Playbooks” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56.1 (Spring 2005): 33-50.

nature of the commonplace book's form requires a dismembering of its parent texts, commonplacing should not be viewed as an inherently negative act. Commonplace books best exemplify the generative act of reading. What might initially be viewed as a solely violent and therefore negative act is recuperated by the weaving together of dismembered texts into one singular unit; however, commonplace books have the potential to be used in either positive or negative ways depending upon their use and deployment. Both Kyd and Shakespeare explore the negative potential available through the act of reading (and in turn commonplacing) through their use of extreme violence. Playwrights' desire to warn against the possible dangers of reading, and the prescriptive notions contained within the plays themselves, may be seen as an attempt to control reading practices when they no longer had control over their own work. In producing works that go beyond making mere allusions to and instead repeat phrases and lines from other texts,⁵⁶ early modern playwrights produce commonplace books themselves in writing their plays.

The act of reading is cyclical, and much as it requires a multitude of bodies to take place, it also involves a multitude of steps to be fully realized. Reading requires interpretation, which then leads to acts of creation; beyond simply taking in words on the page, reading extends to fashioning those words into a meaning of one's own, participating in the formation of a reader's identity. While *Titus'* primary interest is to teach people *how* to read, the *Spanish Tragedy* functions as a means of showing characters having already read and moved onto the act of interpreting and performing that interpretation. These acts of interpretation then lead to the creation of new texts, as is evident in the *First Part of Ieronimo*.

⁵⁶ See Laura Estill on the difference between extract and allusion. Estill provides distinctions between abridgements, allusions, fragments, and extracts in her Introduction. See *Dramatic Extracts in Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts: Watching, Reading, Changing Plays* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2015).

This chapter proposes that the extreme violence (via dismembered body parts) that takes place in William Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* serves as a warning for the play's audience and readers of the monstrous potential dismembered texts have in their re-membling through commonplace books. As seen in the epigraph to this chapter, Montaigne's description of composition is one filled with various pieces fit together to form "monstrous bodies": "What are these things of mine, in truth, but grotesques and monstrous bodies pieced together of diverse members, without definite shape, having no order, sequence, or proportion other than accidental?"⁵⁷ The explicit ties between book and body, along with the idea of dismemberment, are evident in the metaphors of the body used to describe books: spine/back, head, foot, joints etcetera.⁵⁸ The multiplicity of bodies involved in the hybrid book/body circuit can be seen when considering the sizing of paper, which involved the process of cooking animal products down to a substance to make paper more like parchment and more receptive to ink.⁵⁹ While other scholars have used the phrase "geography of the book" to describe the material text itself and explore early modern reading practices, I instead would like to propose using the phrase "the anatomy of the book"—emphasizing the embodied qualities of the book. Through the circulation of the text (and here I mean both

⁵⁷ Montaigne, 135.

⁵⁸ The word "section" was an anatomical term until 1576 when it began to refer to "a subdivision of a written or printed work." *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "section", accessed 15 October 2016, <http://www.oed.com/>. See also Richard Sugg, *Murder After Death: Literature and Anatomy in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

⁵⁹ Even manuscript texts fall within the metaphor of the body: parchment paper is made from the body of another (animal) and is a constant tactile reminder of that fact. Though not as common in the Renaissance as other later periods, and even then not that frequently, anthropodermic bibliopegy—or books covered in human skin—is another instance of bodies as books. See Karen Beck, "852 RARE: Old Books, New Technologies, and 'The Human Skin Book' at HLS" *The Harvard Law School Library Blog*. 3 April 2014. See also Samuel P. Jacobs, "The Skinny on Harvard's Rare Book Collection." *The Harvard Crimson*. 2 February 2006. For further discussion on skin and the medieval parchment page see Michael Camille, "The Book as Flesh and Fetish in Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon*" *The Book and the Body* ed. Dolores Frese and Katherine O'Keefe (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997); Michael Camille, "Glossing the Flesh: Scopophilia and the Margins of the Medieval Book." *The Margins of the Text*. ed. D. C. Greetham (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007); and Sarah Kay, "Legible Skins: Animals and the Ethics of Medieval Reading" *postmedieval* 2 (2011): 13-32.

physically—the material text—and textually—content-wise) there is a reassemblage of parts, a creation of new bodies, (re)shaping both the book and the reader's body.

Commonplacing allows readers to create their own ideal text, which satisfies and expresses personal ideals. Through extraction the text becomes redeployed and embeds itself not only into the physical pages of the text but in turn into a reader's body as well. The two entities are then inseparable. Commonplacing can be seen as a generative act; it is an act that creates a completely new text—one that is entirely a reader's own. Commonplace books serve not only as an aid to memory but also as a source for readers to develop their own work. As Mary Thomas Crane explains,

students were encouraged to view all literature *as a system of interchangeable fragments*, and to view the process of composition as centered on intertextuality rather than imitation in the usual sense. Texts were seen as containers and not, primarily, utterances, a fact that implies a conception of authorship radically different from that usually associated with the Renaissance.⁶⁰

Viewing texts as containers, however, grants them a passive quality; I argue that body *and* book engage in a mutually active process to achieve the resulting new hybrid book/body. The notion of literature “as a system of interchangeable fragments” reinforces the idea that readers reorganize and redeploy these fragments into a new assemblage that suits their needs.

Much like the bee gathers pollen from a variety of flowers, the reader who creates a commonplace book does so by gathering a selection of excerpts from a variety of texts. Each act results in the creation of a new work/structure: commonplace book and

⁶⁰ Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), emphasis added, 92.

honeycomb. As Rosalie Colie argues, they are “a collector and a creator.”⁶¹ The use of the bee was therefore popular among classical authors—from Horace’s *Odes* to Virgil’s *Georgics*. In Seneca’s *Epistulae morealis* the reader is told to

copy these bees, and sift whatever we have gathered from a varied course of reading, for such things are better preserved if they are kept separate; then, by applying the supervising care with which our nature has endowed us, [...] we should so blend those several flavours into one delicious compound that, even though it betrays its origin, yet it nevertheless is clearly a different thing from that whence it came.⁶²

Seneca’s *Epistles* emphasize performing extraction, cutting out bits of the texts being read as an act of “sift[ing].” For the Loeb Classical Library, Richard Gummere translates *separare* as “sift”; however, the word should be translated as “disjoin” or “sever.” The etymology of the word derives from *se* (“apart”) and *paro* (“prepare”), which emphasizes how commonplacing involves “prepar[ing]” texts for extraction “apart” from their original, parent text. While Seneca is referring to the actions of the writer in anticipation of creating a new work, I suggest that the act of reading itself results in the creation of new texts.⁶³ Reading as writing is most evident with commonplacing. Readers must carefully go through texts and be able to discern the choicest flowers if they are to make “one delicious compound” of their own via their commonplace books, but this act also involves tearing or pulling out the flowers to create a new assemblage, divorcing them from their original context/environment. Key to this analogy and others that liken the reader to a bee is the intentional and informed culling of texts. Seneca also makes clear

⁶¹ Rosalie Littell Colie, *My Echoing Song: Andrew Marvell’s Poetry of Criticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), 174.

⁶² Lucius Anneus Seneca, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 5, *Epistles 66 – 92*, trans. Richard M. Gummere (Loeb Classical Library, 1917; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 279.

⁶³ Anne Coldiron also emphasizes the viewpoint that the bee metaphor is one for writing rather than reading: “The reader in preparation for writing is like gathering nectar.” See Anne Coldiron, “Watson’s ‘Hekatompathia’ and Renaissance Lyric Translation” *Translation and Literature* 5.1 (1996): 11.

that through reading the reader becomes writer—the call to cut and extract results in a “different thing”—a new work separate from the original. In *Saturnalia*, Macrobius notes that

We ought to in some sort to imitate bees; and just as they, in their wandering to and fro, sip the flowers, then arrange their spoil and distribute it among the honeycombs, *and transform the various juices to a single flavor by some mixing with them a property of their own being, so I too shall put into writing all that I have acquired in the varied course of my reading*[...]For not only does arrangement help the memory, but the actual process of arrangement, accompanied by a kind of mental fermentation which serves to season the whole, blends the diverse extracts to make a single flavor; with the result that, even if the sources are evident, what we get in the end is still something clearly different from those known sources.⁶⁴

Again, it's noted that the culling of texts (or “sipping the flowers”) results in a single unit (or “single flavor”), but Macrobius adds something significant—the “mixing” of beings (here, that of the bee and the nectar produced).

The book and body, once separate entities, become a hybrid being through the act of reading. Susan Crane's work on chivalry and prosthesis gets closest to the relationship I see between book and body. In her discussion of the knight, his weapons, and his horse, Crane notes that

Crafted prostheses, such as a spear's extension of the arm that throws it, seek both to emulate and to supplant the body part [...] Such accoutrements are based in the way a body part functions, while also surpassing the body part. They suggest not only that a body is made up of 'parts,' but that its 'parts' have a mechanical aspect, shifting our perception of the body toward the nonhuman.⁶⁵

Crane continues by stating that it is in combat scenes that the reader is able to see a “continuum from body parts to pieces of equipment, and from the destruction of

⁶⁴ Macrobius, *Saturnalia Volume I: Books 1-2*. Ed. and trans. Robert A. Kaster. Loeb Classical Library. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011): pr. 5, emphasis added.

⁶⁵ Susan Crane, “Chivalry and the Pre/Postmodern” *postmedieval* 2(2011): 76.

equipment to the wounding of flesh.”⁶⁶ Crane is also careful to articulate that the knight’s “dependence on his horse” is not “a loss of autonomy, a source of vulnerability, or a compromised identity”—other scholars’ claims that “dispersal compromises selfhood [...] speaks from within modernity’s commitment to autonomous selves.”⁶⁷ Similarly, the dismembered hand in writing manuals of the period becomes an “instrument”—one that is detached from the rest of the body.⁶⁸ The dismembered hand must rely upon the page (and the quill as instrument) to relay its message. Visually detaching the hand from the rest of the body emphasizes the ways in which text serves as prosthesis. Books and readers exist as the same part of a whole, which facilitates readers’ fashioning of the self.⁶⁹

Readers’ desire to extract speaks to the idea of a common body, seen perhaps most familiarly in the Bible: “So we being many are one bodie in Christ, and euerie one, one anothers members”; “For as the bodie is one, and hathe many membres, and all the membres of the bodie, which is one, though they be many, yet are all but one bodie: euen so is Christ [...] For the bodie also is not one member, but many”; and “But now are

⁶⁶ Crane, 76.

⁶⁷ Crane, 83. Roger Chartier notes that Alonso Victor de Paredes’s manual on printing (1680) serves as an example of books being ascribed human features because it “holds the book to be a human creature because, like a human, it possesses a body and a soul: I compare a book with the creation of a man who has a rational soul with which our lord created him with all the graces that His Divine Majesty wished to give him; and with the same mighty power he formed his elegant, handsome, and harmonious body.” Roger Chartier, “Crossing Borders in Early Modern Europe: Sociology of Texts and Literature,” *Book History* 8 (2005): 41.

⁶⁸ Goldberg, 59. Examining Guilanantonio Hercolani’s *Essempulare Utile*, fol. 2 Jonathan Goldberg argues that the hand “has been severed...[it] appears to have been separated from the body, made to serve the quill. Both instruments, hand and quill, are placed on the page. The page ‘holds’ the hand—and the severed hand is put into the destination of script, ‘gathered’ as it is sent on that excessive path,” 84.

⁶⁹ This is similar to the end of *Titus Andronicus*, which I discuss at the end of this chapter, where Marcus proclaims to the Romans, “O let me teach you how to knit again / This scattered corn into one mutual sheaf, / These broken limbs again into one body,” 5.3.78.

there manie membres, yet but one bodie.”⁷⁰ These passages in the Bible speak to the ease with which early moderns were familiar with the concept of many parts as one. Reading does not fragment the text or the body, rather parts are moveable, transferable, and are still capable of sharing a common experience.⁷¹ The new hybrid being that is created by the act of reading may in fact be a monstrous creature. Shakespeare’s *Titus Andronicus* explores this possibility and makes clear that a cure is needed to set right the world of the play.

“Some book there is...”: Absent books in *Titus Andronicus*

While texts are more physically present both in *The Spanish Tragedy* and *The first part of Hieronimo*, they are comparatively and noticeably absent for the majority of *Titus Andronicus* (1594). The material absence of the text in *Titus* demonstrates the text’s ability to influence without being materialy present. At first glance the play may seem to be filled with books; however, it is a play filled with disassembled bits of books.⁷² The majority of characters *do not* comprehend the texts they allude to or quote from, and, even more importantly, the play is filled with *references to* books—not necessarily the physical books themselves. The numerous allusions to classical texts, along with the many acts of dismemberment and mutilation that occur on stage, point to the fragmented nature of reading and the danger this lack of knowledge potentially poses.

⁷⁰ *The Bible and Holy Scriptvres Contained in the Olde and Newe Testament* (Geneva, Rovland Hall, 1560). Romans 12:5; 1 Cor 12:12, 14; and 1 Cor 20.

⁷¹ The printing of a book is also a many bodied experience—from the multiple human bodies required to run the printing press to the moveable type required to print the various sheets.

⁷² Danielle St. Hillaire argues, “In Titus’s Rome, the text is everything.” Danielle St. Hillaire, “Allusion and Sacrifice in *Titus Andronicus*” *SEL Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 49.2 (2009): 315.

Lavinia's character epitomizes the relationship between book and reader—books don't have to be present in this play because Lavinia's body serves as text, illustrating the book/ body unit. Books function as a form of prosthesis—here the process of breaking down, fragmenting, and building up anew takes place with Lavinia—whose body is literally fragmented and whose newly reformed body involves taking in the text as a part of herself—the book has become part of the reader. In the corrupt world of the play, however, this is depicted as a horrific process.

Shakespeare depicts two different types of readers through his characterization of the Romans and the Goths, and in turn promotes one type of reader over the other. While all of the characters appear to demonstrate a basic familiarity with the texts being referred to in the play (these works include Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, among others), only the Romans, particularly Titus and Lavinia, engage in an informed reading of these works. The Goths' monstrous qualities are mirrored through their reading and misunderstanding of these classical texts. Tamora does not understand that Alarbus's death is a sacrifice that recalls Book XII of *The Aeneid* when Aeneas kills Turnus who has killed Pallas. As Danielle St. Hillaire argues, the sacrifice of Alarbus is the "fulfillment of Virgilian piety."⁷³ Tamora also makes clear her inability to interpret texts in Act 2. Lavinia asks for pity but is not given it. Tamora responds to her pleas by stating, "I know not what it means" (2.2.157).⁷⁴ Here, "it" refers to a number of things—its many layers of meaning are reflective of the layers of a text and further emphasize Tamora's inability to interpret and read between the lines. "It" can refer to the term "pity," which

⁷³ St. Hillaire, 314.

⁷⁴ Unless otherwise stated, all quotations are from: *Titus Andronicus* Ed. Jonathan Bate (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 1995).

Tamora refuses to acknowledge or to “open [her] deaf ears” to (2.2.160), but “it” can also refer to Lavinia who is about to have the very appendages that make her human taken away.⁷⁵ Finally “it” can also refer to the text itself, here Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. The conflation of body and text is made visible by these multiple interpretations.⁷⁶ Both the spoken and written word are aligned with the human body. The movement present in this scene—from spoken word, to written word, to reading the text that is the human body—mirrors the relationship cycle between reader and text—from performed play to playtext to the hybrid book/body.⁷⁷

Tamora’s repeated misinterpretations, as well as her sons’, perhaps reach their apex when she fails to understand Titus’s allusion to Hyperion in Act 5. This misunderstanding (or failure to interpret) forecasts her own downfall by aligning herself with Hyperion’s son Helios, whose son Phaethon, attempts to drive the chariot of the sun but instead crashes into the sea (5.2.56-7). Tamora’s misinformed readings are also seen with her sons, who, unlike Aaron, do not understand Titus’s message in Act 4. Chiron recognizes the verse from Horace and says, “I know it well. / I read it in the grammar long ago” (4.2.22-3). Chiron “knows” the text in that he has the ability to identify or recognize it, but he does not have an understanding of the text. He cannot interpret it as Aaron does a few lines later:

Ay just—a verse in Horace, right, you have it.

⁷⁵ The classical model of rhetoric holds that the hands and the tongue are what make us human.

⁷⁶ The Bodleian’s copy of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (1567) contains bodies within the letters of the title. A reader has drawn in faces in the letter’s “O” and “D” in Ovid’s name. Bodleian Dunstan.A.172.

⁷⁷ See Robert Darnton’s “What is the History of the Book?” *Daedalus* 111.3 (Summer 1982): 65-83. Darnton argues that there is a “communication circuit”—or life phase—of the book, starting from the conception of the text by the author and moving eventually to the reception of the text by its readers. Darnton’s model fails to adequately account for the material object of the book. In “A New Model for the Study of the Book,” *A Potencie of Life: Books on Society*, Ed. Nicolas Barker (London: The British Library, 1993), Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker revise Darnton’s model in order to account for the material object.

[*aside*] Now what a thing it is to be an ass.
Here's no sound jest! The old man hath found their guilt,
And sends them weapons wrapped about with lines
That wound beyond their feeling to the quick. (4.2.24-8)

Aaron's lines emphasize the explicit ties between reading and violence. An awareness of the text being cited allows Aaron to realize that the written word can be used as a weapon; however, Chiron's mere surface-level recognition of the text results in his remaining unaware until it is too late—the text's ability to “wound beyond their feeling” implies that the wound is so deep and serious as to be fatal. The text's agency enables it to perform an act of violence.

That *Titus* should function as reading manual, teaching its readers how to read, is enhanced by the repeated references to teaching throughout the play, exemplified by Ovid's *Metamorphoses* use as a schoolroom text.⁷⁸ The play functions as a guide on how to read to avoid graphic violence that stems from misreading. The grammar schools of the Renaissance saw “a new curriculum that emphasized the study of ancient secular texts, known as the *studia humanitatis* [...] Collections of quotations [were] organized for the express purpose of demonstrating the best moral wisdom and rhetorical felicity of the ancient Greek and Latin scholars.”⁷⁹ In the section “Of the education of children” in Montaigne's *Essays*, the popular analogy of the reader as bee is used:

The bees plunder the flowers here and there, but afterward they make of them honey, which is all theirs; it is no longer thyme or marjoram. Even so with pieces borrowed from others; he will transform and blend them to

⁷⁸ Montaigne states that “The first taste or feeling I had of bookes, was of the pleasure I tooke in reading the fables of Ovids *Metamorphosies*; for being but seven or eight yeares old, I would steale and sequester my selfe from all other delights, only to reade them.” ‘Of the Institution and Education of Children’, *The Essays of Montaigne*. The Tudor Translations. Ed. W. E. Henley. (London: David Nutt, 1892), i.25, 188.

⁷⁹ Havens, 25. Jeffrey Todd Knight also notes that the commonplace book “grew to such prominence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England that it ‘constituted the primary intellectual tool for organizing knowledge and thought among the intelligentsia.’” *Bound to Read*, 93.

make a work that is all his own, to wit, his judgment. His education, work, and study aim only at forming this.

This again recalls the Senecan antecedent of “gather[ing] and “blend[ing]” multiple pieces “into one delicious compound.” Montaigne’s reformulation of this analogy highlights how reading creates identity with his emphasis on possession and ownership (“which is all theirs”; “a work that is all his own”).

Lavinia’s function as a model of the hybrid book/body is reinforced by the repeated connection of Lavinia with books. Titus expresses surprise at Lavinia bringing forth Ovid’s book and states:

Some book there is that she desires to see.
Which is it girl, of these? Open them, boy.
[to Lavinia] But thou art deeper read and better skilled:
Come and take choice of all my library. (4.1.31-34)

When Titus says that Lavinia is “deeper read and better skilled” (4.1.33), the audience can then intimately connect Lavinia with books. This notion is reinforced when Marcus tells Titus to “note how she *quotes* the leaves” (4.1.50, *emph. added*); using and touching the text allows Lavinia to be imprinted by the text. The corrupt world of the play and the nefarious intentions of the characters produce a violent and horrifying text displayed through Lavinia’s body.

When books are finally present in the play, they in fact fail Lavinia at this key moment. Despite Titus’s entire library available to her—including the book she needs, Ovid’s *Metamorphosis*—Lavinia is unable to make clear to Titus, Marcus, and young Lucius what happened to her. Like Chiron who recognizes the quote from Horace but fails to contextualize it, Titus shows that he is familiar with the story of Philomela when Lavinia presents the *Metamorphosis*, but he cannot make the complete connection:

Lavinia, wert thou this surprised, sweet girl,
Ravished and wronged as Philomela was,
Forced in the ruthless, vast and gloomy woods?
[...]
Give signs, sweet girl. (4.1.51-53, 61)

Writing outside the conventional margins of the text, Lavinia spells out the names of her assaulters by guiding a staff with her mouth, both abandoning the parent text and building off of and reshaping to re-contextualize the text to her situation. It is only when she connects with the text that she then is given a “voice” by being able to write the names of her attackers. The book and body are connected—part of the same whole. Lavinia is the embodiment of a textual fragment—she is an extraction from the story of Philomela who is revised and repurposed in the name of revenge. She attempts to reunite herself with her parent text, but as both book and body she must recontextualize her own experience and write her own story, here the words “*Stuprum—Chiron—Demetrius*” (4.1.78). Her story, however, is one that goes further, as Shakespeare attempts to outdo Ovid by denying the possibility of Lavinia as Philomela to weave by disfiguring her.

Fragmented Knowledge in Titus Andronicus

The cascade of violence in the play serves as a guide for the play’s readers on the potential dangerous qualities of reading. While the author may be concerned with proper attention being shown to his/her text, the readers’ goals are to use texts how they see fit. The worry that readers are only using commonplace books as a source to help elevate or maintain social credibility by being able to recite an apt quote, resulting in a fragmentation of the parent text and essentially divorcing itself from its original context,

is made evident in Francis Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning* (1640), which acknowledges both the strengths and weaknesses of commonplacing:

wherein I am not ignorant of the prejudice imputed to the use of common-place books, as causing a retardation of reading, and some sloth or relaxation of memory. But because it is but a counterfeit thing in knowledges to be forward and pregnant, except a man be deep and full, I hold the entry of common-places to be a matter of great use and essence in studying, as that which assureth copy of invention, and contracteth judgment to a strength. But this is true, that of the methods of common-places that I have seen, there is none of any sufficient worth, all of them carrying merely the face of a school and not of a world; and referring to vulgar matters and pedantical divisions, without all life or respect to action.⁸⁰

In the world of the play, those who cannot read properly are killed in order to exhibit the dangerous potential of reading. Other characters, such as Alarbus and Lavinia, must die in order to fulfill their roles as the allusions they have been aligned with, thereby fulfilling the stories that have been referenced, serving also as examples of the body becoming a book. As St. Hillaire states, "If Lavinia the allusion is thus to be made whole, Lavinia the character must die."⁸¹ Allowing these characters to survive would transform their *bodies* into fragmented texts—it would erase any evidence of knowledge of the work as a whole. If they live, an ignorance of the parent or source text is demonstrated, becoming an endorsement of fragmented reading. This also seems to suggest that there may be a tragic consequence to reading—reading may require death.

⁸⁰ Francis Bacon. *The Advancement of Learning*. Book 2. XV.1. (London: 1640). Although writing specifically against legal commonplace books, Abraham Fraunce's distaste for "A. B. C. abridgement[s]" in *The Lawiers logicke* (1588) seems applicable here as well: "To conclude, I could heartily wish the whole body of our law to be rather logically ordered, than by alphabeticall breviaries *torne and dismembered*. If any man say, it cannot be...then I doe not so much envy his great wisdom, as pitie his rustically education, who had rather eate acorns with hogs, then bread with men; and preferreth the loathsome tossing of an A.B.C. abridgement, before the lightsome perusing of a methodicall coherence of the whole common law," 119[v], emphasis added. Note Fraunce's use of "torne and dismembered," which evokes images of the book as body.

⁸¹ St. Hillaire, 321.

Lavinia is a knowledgeable reader; she is as Titus notes, “deeper read and better skilled” (4.1.33), but she cannot overcome the monstrous intentions of the other characters in the play. Mirroring the very act of reading during the early modern period—one that was fragmented in nature⁸²—Lavinia’s body is violated and dismembered. Her body must be read or interpreted by others. She uses the material object of the text, a copy of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, “turn[ing] the leaves” to “the tragic tale of Philomel” (4.1.45, 47) to accuse her attackers. The text is one that has been brought to life and enacted upon her body as she suffers the same fate as the characters in the stories she is familiar with; however, because the violence goes further than Ovid, the physical text present on the stage is no longer relevant. Lavinia’s lack of hands and tongue is supplemented by text—the written word functions as a form of prosthesis for her dismembered body. What her body lacks, the newly re-formed text makes up for—highlighting the book’s ability to become a part of the owner and vice versa.

In Titus’s world it is unclear as to whether Rome’s future will contain those who use texts in a positive manner. Though we are told that “Many a story hath [Titus] told to thee [young Lucius] / And bid thee bear his pretty tales in mind / And talk of them when he was dead and gone” (5.3.163-5), we saw in Act 4 that the boy was unable to read Lavinia: “My aunt Lavinia / Follows me everywhere, I know not why [...] / Alas, sweet aunt, I know not what you mean” (4.1.1-2, 4). The boy can point to what Lavinia as a textual fragment reminds him of: “I have read that Hecuba of Troy / Ran mad for sorrow” (4.1.20-1)—but he “know[s] not...nor can I guess” (4.1.16) as to what she is trying to

⁸² Jeffrey Todd Knight notes that “early modern collectors...organized and built books on substantially more varied principles of compilation, including augmentation and annexation, topicality, combination and recombination, generic and formal transformation, and necessity. This nonprescriptiveness, or what I have been calling contingency in early book collecting, was as manifest on the production end as it was for the early consumer or collector,” 180-1.

communicate. This demonstration of young Lucius's inability to read Lavinia properly signals to the audience that the future of Rome has been put into question.⁸³ The text thereby critiques the kinds of bodies reading makes thorough its violence.

Understanding the texts' meanings requires an ability to interpret. Emphasizing the significance and importance of each word, the play demonstrates that words and allusions come alive—they take physical form. Saturninus tells Bassianus to “repent this rape” of Lavinia; Bassianus replies a few lines later that “Answer I Must, and shall do with my life” (1.1.417). Saturninus's use of the word rape most closely follows the sense of *raptus*, or carrying away a woman by force; later on in the play it is transformed into *stuprum*, one of the words Lavinia writes out with Titus's staff in the sand, which is more often associated with shame and forced sexual intercourse. In 2.2 Lavinia's words are cut off (“Confusion fall—” [2.2.184]) just as her tongue is about to be. Her rape, though it occurs off stage, materializes in physical form via the pit—the “subtle hole... / Whose mouth is covered with rude-growing briars / Upon whose leaves are drops of new-shed blood” (2.2.198-200). As Chiron and Demetrius taunt Lavinia—Chiron says, “Write down thy mind, bewray they meaning so / And if thy stumps will let thee, play the scribe,” and Demetrius replies, “See how with signs and tokens she can scrawl” (2.3.3-5). Their words come to fruition in Act 4 when she writes ‘Stuprum-Chiron-Demetrius’ in the sand with Titus's staff. In Act 3, Titus asks, “shall we cut away our hands like thine?” (3.1.131). Aaron enters the scene approximately 20 lines later and informs Titus

that if thou love thy sons,
Let Marcus, Lucius, or thyself, old Titus,
Or any one of you, chop off your hand
And send it to the king. (3.1.152-55)

⁸³ Additional problems are also suspected when Titus, who is a comparatively informed reader, also misreads, claiming he “can interpret all [Lavinia's] martyred signs,” 3.2.36.

Later in Act 5, what are typically personified characters, Revenge, Murder, and Rape, take physical form and become Tamora and her sons.

What these examples demonstrate is that words are not meant to be taken lightly—to do so is to set forth your own demise. These examples also show that by bringing words and allusions to life, the characters are in turn dehumanized. Each seems to take on the characteristics of the other, so that a symbiotic relationship is developed, and it is hard to tell where one ends and one begins. Titus must learn to interpret: to “understand her [Lavinia’s] signs” (3.1.144) and to “wrest an alphabet” from her body (3.2.44), which has become a “map of woe” that must be read (3.2.12). Texts shape and inform the reader, so that in the world of the play, “Roman education has been twisted to become the teacher and rationalizer of heinous deeds.”⁸⁴ But as I have shown earlier the texts also take on a life of their own as characters from classical tales assume a new revised physical form in the world of the play. As Tamora encounters Titus in his study, Titus proclaims, “See here in bloody lines I have set down, / And what is written shall be executed” (5.2.14-15). Titus inscribes his letters with his own blood—in effect giving his text what gives *him* life and, as Mary Fawcett observes, “mak[ing] himself into a text.”⁸⁵ This action can also be read as that which is written (here, Titus) will be executed. The power of the written word is again emphasized with the double meaning of the word “executed”—particularly since it is *his* blood, his life force, that animates the words so that they can take others’ lives.

⁸⁴ West, 65.

⁸⁵ Fawcett, 270.

Those characters who write are also those who have the ability to interpret the texts and allusions presented to them—though they are not always right in their assessments. Titus cannot read Lavinia until she writes words. Aaron claims to have carved “roman letters” on the skin of corpses, Lavinia “scrawls” her message in the sand, and Titus, who is the most prolific writer of the play, writes his grief over his sons’ deaths in the dust, writes a letter to the gods in an attempt to bring about justice, writes a letter to the Emperor Saturnine, sends Chiron and Demetrius the quotation from Horace wrapped around weapons, and writes down his plans for revenge in “bloody lines” (5.2.14). Only those who have the ability to interpret the texts are given the ability to engage with them, thereby demonstrating the readers’ ownership over the texts with which they have knowledge.

Aaron, Lavinia, and Titus’s ability to understand and engage with the texts being dealt with in this play allow them to use the texts to their advantage and thereby develop their own texts from the originals, following Montaigne’s prescriptions to “transform and blend” and “make a work that is all [the reader’s] own.” In *Of education: especially of young gentlemen* (1673), Obadiah Walker writes that “Invention is bettered by practice, by reading, by imitation, and by common-places”—actions that each of the aforementioned characters employ. Aaron, Lavinia, and Titus’s assemblage of texts recalls Montaigne’s description of composition as they create a new unified “monstrous bod[y].”

At the end of the play, Marcus proclaims to the people of Rome
O let me teach you how to knit again
This scattered corn into one mutual sheaf,
These broken limbs again into one body. (5.3.69-71)

The imagery provided by Marcus's words incorporates the references to food and consumption that we have seen throughout the play, which are also terms that can be used to apply to the act of reading. In consuming texts, readers are able to produce a new being. Francis Bacon describes reading as follows: "Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested."⁸⁶ But what Marcus's lines also emphasize is the desire to teach reading as a positive force. His words suggest that the texts we have been confronted with in the play should be compiled and put into a *sammelbände* (or a multibook compilation)—to "knit against this scattered corn [these textual fragments] into one mutual sheaf [forming an anthology]—providing a book that explicitly shows the "pattern[s], precedent[s], and lively warrant[s]" Titus refers to (5.3.43). The "broken limbs" of text will be made whole again when the reader is able to understand the complete context of the excerpts, rather than have only a superficial awareness of a work's various dismembered parts. Marcus' lines imply a need to move past revenge in the hopes of a more positive, generative form of reading. What the play actually presents to the audience /reader are instructions on how to read and produce a commonplace book. It is not enough, however, to know only how to read words; the reader must also be shown how to interpret. Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* achieves this synthesis of meaning by highlighting characters who perform the act of interpretation in order to lead to the act of creation and formation of identity.

⁸⁶ Francis Bacon, "Of Studies" from *Essays, Civil and Moral*. Ed. Charles W. Eliot. (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2009): 128.

“First take my tongue, and afterwards my heart”: Reading and Dismembering

From the very beginning of *The Spanish Tragedy* (1592) we enter into a world that is predicated upon books as Andrea’s opening speech takes its description of the underworld from *The Aeneid*. Kyd’s own play functions as a commonplace book as it is composed of quotations from others’ works.⁸⁷ This fragmentation serves to highlight the violence that takes place on the stage and is reinforced by the fact that the dismemberment of a text (a quotation being cut away from its original context) is directly followed by violence against and dismemberment of a character in the play. The play also introduces the idea of the written word being used as a means of transportation and navigation; most importantly, writing and revenge are tied together: Proserpine “begged that only she might give [Andrea’s] doom” and “sealed [the passport] with a kiss” (ll. 79, 80).⁸⁸ While *The Spanish Tragedy* moves on to the next step in the hybrid book/body circuit and demonstrates the interpretive act required to form new creative entities, the world of this play is also corrupt due to the desire for revenge. The play is thus framed by the direct connection made between writing and violence; the ending displays the King and Castile’s attempt to make Hieronimo (who has bitten out his tongue) write to reveal the truth:

CASTILE: O, he would have a knife to mend his pen.
VICEROY: Here; and advise thee that thou write the troth.
KING: Look to my brother! Save Hieronimo!
He with a knife stabs the DUKE and himself. (4.4.199-201.5)

⁸⁷ Kyd’s own work also becomes commonplace material for other authors—see for example, Shakespeare’s *Much Ado About Nothing*.

⁸⁸ All quotations from the play, unless otherwise stated, are from Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*. Ed. J. R. Mulryne. (London: A&C Black, 2007).

Both pen and knife are weapons.⁸⁹ David Browne's *New Invention, Entitled Caligraphia* (1622) suggests that reader and writing implement function as instruments for the book when he states, "The efficient causes of writing are the writer and his pen; both are instruments, 'living and deade.'"⁹⁰ As suggested by Castille in the quote above, the pen is not the only violent tool; the knife that fashions it is too. In performing the act of reading, readers initiate additional violence, whether it is through reading in bits and pieces or extracting selections from a text for commonplacing.

The audience is presented with the connection between cutting, reading, and violence in 1.2 of *The Spanish Tragedy*. The General quotes from Claudian's *De Tertio Consulatu Honorii*;⁹¹ this quotation is then followed by a description of dismemberment:

On every side drop captains to the ground,
And soldiers, some ill-maimed, some slain outright:
Here falls a body scindured from his head,
There legs and arms lie bleeding on the grass,
Mingled with weapons and unbowelled steeds,
That scattering overspread the purple plain. (1.2.58-62)

The lines themselves represent the bodily fragmentation—the word "body" is separated from "head" by several words, while "legs and arms" lie even further away on the next line. The visual construction of the lines echoes the description where formerly whole entities are dismembered to form one complete gruesome image. Throughout the play writing and blood are often contrasted in speech. Responding to Hieronimo's questioning the Senex replies:

⁸⁹ Sir Thomas Browne also connects writing and violence: "Schollers are men of peace, they beare no armes, but their tongues are sharper than Actius and his razor, their pens carry farther, and give lowder report than thunder; I had rather stand in the shock of a Basilisco than in the fury of a mercilesse Pen." qtd. Frederick Kiefer. *Writing on the Renaissance Stage: Written Words, Printed Pages, Metaphoric Books* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996). 59.

⁹⁰ David Browne, *New Invention, Intituled Caligraphia: Or, The Arte of Faire Writing*. (St. Andrews, 1622). ***8v

⁹¹ See the footnote on page 10 of *The Spanish Tragedy*. Ed. J. R. Mulryne. (London: A&C Black, 2007).

No sir, could my woes
Give way unto my most distressful words,
Then should I not in paper, as you see,
With ink bewray what blood began in me. (3.13.74-77)

The use of blood ties the two bodies (text and human) together—they become inseparable.⁹² As Frederick Kiefer notes, “Here is a man whose pain, anger, and hope of redress are all reduced to ink on paper [...] The juxtaposition of the words ‘ink’ and ‘blood’ must remind [Hieronimo] of Bel-imperia’s letter.”⁹³ The Senex’s trust in the written word is also shown by the implicit tying of ink and blood together. The text makes visible what was once internal—a part of him—readable to others.

At the end of Hieronimo’s famous “*Vindicti mihi*” speech he explicitly ties writing and dismemberment together when he states

Revenge on them that murdered my son.
Then will I rent and tear them thus and thus,
Shivering their limbs in pieces with my teeth.
Tears the papers. (3.13.121-123.5).

Hieronimo’s desire to enact revenge is directly tied to the written word. His tearing up of the papers signals the vast network of connections between readers, writers, and their subjects. Hieronimo’s initial desire for revenge starts through his pen. He tricks his victims into playing their parts, and, much like he destroys the aforementioned papers, he is able to dispose of his victims. Similarly, the violent actions he takes upon the papers are made visible on his own body as he “authors” his own dismemberment when he bites out his tongue in Act 4, scene 4. Remembering that Hieronimo also first *read* these sources in another text in order to copy them into his own supports that what he writes

⁹² See other examples of letters written in blood in *Titus Andronicus* and *‘Tis a Pity She’s a Whore*.

⁹³ Kiefer, 246. For an example on the other side of the spectrum—where a human (Tangle) bleeds ink—see Middleton’s *The Phoenix*.

becomes a part of him. The audience witnesses a transmission and transformation taking place and recognizes that reading requires a self-making action.⁹⁴

While others have argued that they believe that Hieronimo is reading from a text of the collected works of Seneca,⁹⁵ I propose that Hieronimo is reading from his own personal commonplace book—one centered around violence and revenge. Viewing Hieronimo's text as a commonplace book, however, would fit not only with the repeated references to Hieronimo as author but also fits into the cycle of reading and writing taking place during the Renaissance. The opening of Hieronimo's speech and its direct reference to the Bible also serves as a reminder of the connection between word and flesh and, therefore, also the reader and text relationship.

One real life example of a text that Hieronimo could have been carrying around is the Folger's *Poetical Miscellany* (V.b.210); compiled in 1604, this commonplace book contains six published works and four letters. This text might also be referred to as a sort of hybrid manuscript sammelbände. Rather than an assemblage of extractions from a variety of texts, V.b.210 instead presents the works as though they were the printed texts the owner is copying from: the manuscript copy of Drayton's *The Owle* contains the dedication from the printed 1604 quarto, and decorative woodcuts and printed catchwords

⁹⁴ Rather than the reader being affected negatively by a text, Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* instead portrays a book, rather than owner, who becomes imbued with evil characteristics. See chapter 3's discussion of *The Duchess of Malfi*.

⁹⁵ Scott McMillin dismisses the use of the Bible in Hieronimo's "Vindicti mihi" speech in order to support his claim that the book Hieronimo references is a volume of Seneca: "The Bible notwithstanding, there is no mistaking the book of superior influence in Hieronimo's view. He holds a volume of Seneca in his hand, and there he finds three passages which, regardless of Christian doctrine, are supposed to speak in favor of personal vengeance." Scott McMillin. "The Book of Seneca in *The Spanish Tragedy*." *SEL* 14.2 (1974): 202. Frederick Kiefer suggests that "The quotations suggest that the book he carries is a collection of the Roman dramatist's [Seneca's] tragedies." *Writing on the Renaissance Stage: Written Word, Printed Page, Metaphoric Books* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996). 237-8. See also Fredson Bowers who argues that Hieronimo was merely thinking of the passage in Romans before referring to an edition of Seneca.

are also reproduced in the manuscript (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2).⁹⁶ This particular volume demonstrates that commonplace books can take different forms. The works contained within are comprised mostly of violent texts—*News from Gravesend*, *Looke to it for Ile Stabbe ye*, *Owle*, *Letting of Hymours Bloud in the Head Vaine*, *The Whipping of the Satyr*, and *Pasquil's mad-cappe*—epitomizing the violent nature of the very act of reading and its relation to the assemblage of self.⁹⁷

While the majority of texts that Hieronimo quotes are indeed from Seneca, there is still support for this text being a commonplace book that Hieronimo has put together. Hieronimo opens with a quote from Romans: “Vindicta mihi” (3.13.1), and then follows with a quotation from Seneca’s *Agamemnon*. Next the audience is provided with a “loose translation” of Seneca’s *Troades*.⁹⁸ Translation operates as an act of interpretation. These translated lines, which follow the original Latin text, are one of the few times that the audience is presented with a rough translation of any Latin, which further supports that Hieronimo has made these works his own—he interprets the works and shares with the audience his own interpretation of said lines. Finally, he ends his verbal commonplacing with a quote from *Oedipus*. Scott McMillin acknowledges that Hieronimo understands his references

and bends their lines to his purposes [...] the quotations are wrenched from their original meaning, for they do not bear upon revenge [...] and in incorporating portions of that [Senecan] book into his own speech, he

⁹⁶ The act of transcribing from printed text is also reinforced by including the date of composition (on the owner’s part) for each work—ranging from April 6 to November 17, 1604.

⁹⁷ The letters contained within include Thomas Stanley’s letter to Cambridge justices (1597); Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk’s letter to the queen (1571) and act of his execution (1572); The end of Walter, Earl of Essex (1576); and Philip, Earl of Arundel’s letter to the queen (1586). The works in this commonplace book have been painstakingly reproduced as they were in print.

⁹⁸ *The Spanish Tragedy*. Ed. J. R. Mulryne. (London: A&C Black, 2007): F.n., 85.

cares not for the literalism of the language but for the situations which resemble his own and of which language is only a “sign.”⁹⁹

For my argument, the important observation that McMillin makes is that Hieronimo only uses texts for “his purposes” and “for the situations which resemble his own.” Through Hieronimo the reader is given an explicit example of how one can formulate their identity through reading, although that identity might cultivate violence. This scene also recalls the Senecan quotation referred to at the start of this chapter—“blend[ing] those several flavors into one delicious compound that, even though it betrays its origin, yet it nevertheless is clearly a different thing from that whence it came.” Hieronimo has created a “compound” from a variety of sources—one that both serves his own purposes and affects his own being.

From the beginning of the play the audience is alerted to the importance of commonplacing with the clear commonplacing of Watson's Sonnet XLVII in Act 2. Printed in 1582, Watson's *Hekatompathia* is both itself a commonplace of a variety of authors¹⁰⁰ and *encourages* commonplacing by its readers. Eleven texts in the *Hekatompathia* contain signals for commonplacing via double inverted commas.¹⁰¹ Below I have supplied a side-by-side comparison of that particular sonnet and the pertinent lines in Act 2 of *The Spanish Tragedy*.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ McMillin, 207.

¹⁰⁰ Anne Coldiron notes that Watson's work contains “a great variety of foreign sources—roughly 200 Greek, Italian, Latin and French works.” Coldiron continues by saying that “The number is impressive, as is the range: prose writers, poetic writers, writers light and serious, on all topics, fictional and not, from several historical periods (Greek, Silver Latin, medieval, and contemporary.” Coldiron's article focuses on Watson as translator—none of the works he has selected are of native authors for him. Coldiron, 7-8.

¹⁰¹ A total of 40 lines in the entirety of the *Hekatompathia* are marked for commonplacing. 9 out of 100 sonnets contain marks, while 2 paratexts (M. Roydon's dedicatory poem and “A Quatrozain of the Author...”) contain commonplacing markers. 84% of the marked lines occur in the “My Love is Past” section.

¹⁰² Shakespeare later pulls from Watson and Kyd in *Much Ado about Nothing* (1.1.235-242).



Figure 2.1 Image courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library.
V.b.210, 19.

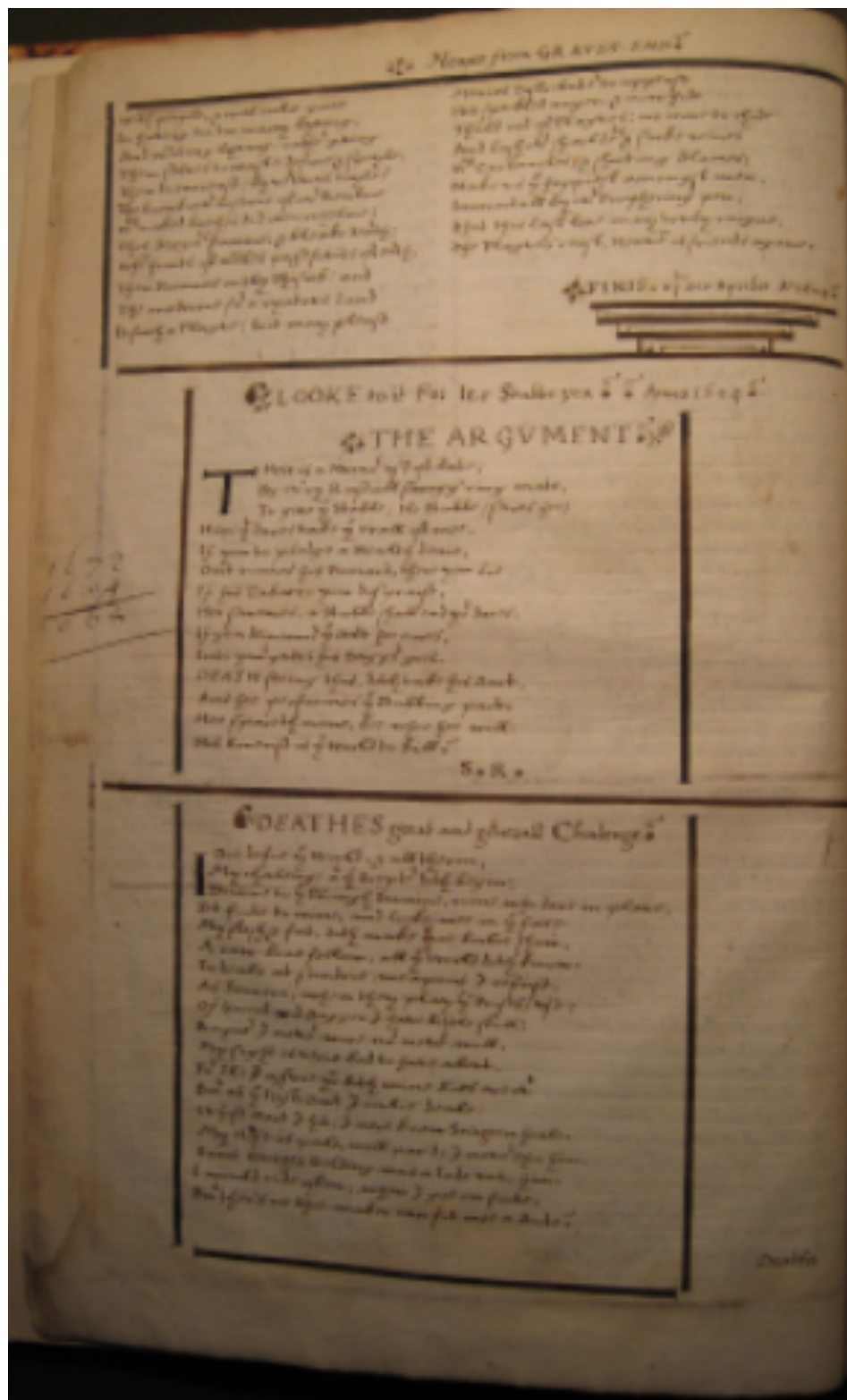


Figure 2.2 Image courtesy of the Folger, V.b.210, 12.

<i>Hekatompathia</i>	<i>Spanish Tragedy</i>
<p>In Time the Bull is brought to weare the yoke; In time all haggred Haukes will stoope the Lures; In time small wedge will cleaue the sturdiest Oake; In time the Marble weares with weakest shewres:</p>	<p>LORENZO: My Lord, though Bel-imperia seem thus coy, Let reason hold you in your wonted joy; In time the savage Bull sustains the yoke, More fierce is my sweet loue, more hard withal, Then Beast, or Birde, then Tree, or Stony wall. No yoke preuailes, shee will not yeeld to might; No Lure will cause her stoope, she beares full gorge; No wedge of woes make printe, she reakes no right; No shewre of teares can moue, she thinkes I forge: Helpe therefore <i>Heau'nly Boy</i>, come perce her brest With that same shaft, which rabbes me of my rest. So let her feele thy force, that the relent; So keepe her lowe, that she vouchsafe a pray; So frame her will to right, that pride be spent; So forge, that I may speede without delay; Which if thou do, Ile sweare, and singe with ioy, That Loue no longer is a blinded Boy.</p> <p>In time all haggard Hawks will stoop to lure, In time small wedges cleave the hardest Oak, In time the Flint is pierced with softest shower; And she in time will fall from her disdain, And rue the sufferance of your friendly pain.</p> <p>BALTHAZAR: No, she is wilder and more hard withal, Than beast, or bird, or tree, or stony wall. But wherefore blot I Bel-imperia's name? It is my fault, not she that merits blame. My feature is not to content her sight, My words are rude and work her no delight. The lines I send her are but harsh and ill (2.1.1-15)</p>

Kyd's use of Watson both illustrates the classical metaphor of the bee and writing as well as reinforcing the idea of reading being a form of extraction (taking Seneca's—and other classical authors'—advice beyond the author). As Coldiron states, “Watson fragments, decontextualizes, and radically recontextualizes the bits and pieces he translates—acting as[...]a maker of poetic mosaics, smashing up poems and recycling the bits into his own planned varicoloured patterns.”¹⁰³ The commonplace book becomes a site where the book/reader hybrid being is especially manifest, demonstrating its creative force and potential for terrible violence.

Unlike the poisoned book in *The Duchess of Malfi*, which kills Julia, Hieronimo's book (referenced in the opening stage direction in 3.13) only inspires death—it initiates violent actions. The Cardinal's Bible serves as the more active agent, while here, the reader, Hieronimo, must serve that role. If Hieronimo's text is indeed a commonplace book, he has therefore had to write these excerpts into the blank pages of the text. Writing not only makes evident his desires but also inscribes the actions upon his own body; he absorbs the violence himself, thereby demonstrating the porous nature of text and body. The persuasive effect of these texts and how they eventually seem to embed themselves into part of Hieronimo's being (making Hieronimo abandon the Christian ideas sounded earlier) illustrates the fears surrounding the influences of the book. Hieronimo uses books as justifications for his actions—he selects and shapes his will to support his desires (creating his own new revenge text).

What Hieronimo enacts via paper eventually occurs when he brings his words (his play) to life and kills everyone with those words of his own creation. As Hieronimo utters, “Revenge on them that murdered my son. / Then will I rent and tear them thus and thus

¹⁰³ Coldiron, 9.

Shivering their limbs in pieces with my teeth” (3.13.121-123), he speaks of tearing up the petitioners’ documents and then literally tears them up. The progression is later followed by the completion of his revenge (and the murders of his enemies).¹⁰⁴ Hieronimo’s actions further demonstrate the tie between text and body, and as I argued in my reading of *Titus Andronicus*, words and actions come to life via the text.

Hieronimo attempts to erect barriers to the reading of his body by preventing any further words from being uttered. By the time Hieronimo’s play has concluded his revenge has been fulfilled:

And princes, now behold Hieronimo,
Author and actor in this tragedy [...]
And gentles, thus I end my play:
Urge no more words: I have no more to say. (4.4.146-147; 151-152)

His case differs from that of Lavinia in *Titus Andronicus* in that he has the agency to decide what happens to him, perhaps therefore tying him more directly with the titular character in Shakespeare’s play. He bites out his own tongue and refuses to speak—attempting to prevent any reading of his own body.¹⁰⁵ His assertion that he will speak “no more words” and has “no more to say” suggests that he sees a connection between text and body, perhaps believing that in shutting down one he will prevent the other from being read. While Lavinia uses books and other instruments (such as a stick to write) to aid her dismembered body, Hieronimo maims his own body to prevent his potentially “leaky” body from revealing things he doesn’t want his enemies to know:

But never shalt thou force me to reveal

¹⁰⁴ Frederick Kiefer notes this connection between body and text by stating, “Hieronimo tears up the petitioner’s documents as though he were sundering the limbs of his antagonists,” 246.

¹⁰⁵ Kiefer argues, that “[w]ith the completion of revenge, [Hieronimo’s] destiny is simultaneously complete. Like an actor at the end of a performance, he finds further words superfluous,” 244. This, however, raises the question of when a text is actually silent. Plays exhibit more leaky (or rather indefinable) barriers both with epilogues and paratextual material.

The thing which I have vowed inviolate.
And therefore in despite of all thy threats,
Pleased with their deaths, and eased with their revenge,
First take my tongue, and afterwards my heart. (4.4.187-191)

Hieronimo's lines express a desire to first remove the more evanescent and then the permanent: he first wants to take the instrument (his tongue) that can create new texts and is loose, unwittingly revealing inner desires, and only after that does he wish for the slightly more permanent text of his heart to be taken. Hieronimo continues to attempt to maintain control over the reading of his body by prescribing how it will be cut apart and dismembered. Just as he wrote the text that fulfilled his revenge, he too tries to write how his body will be cut up and have violence enacted upon it. In redistributing the texts of his body, Hieronimo also facilitates the creation of a new text(s) created in the re-assemblage of certain pieces of himself for others' purposes.

To complete the cyclical act of reading I see occurring in the early modern period, I conclude this chapter by turning to the anonymously written *The First Part of Ieronimo*. The cycle of reading was initiated, for this chapter, by starting with a text that illustrates how to read (as seen in *Titus Andronicus*) and then moves to a text that highlights the act of interpretation that must next take place (as seen in *The Spanish Tragedy*). Much like Hieronimo authors his own text in *The Spanish Tragedy*, in concluding this chapter with the anonymously written *The First Part of Ieronimo*, I argue that the anonymous playwright's entire play should be viewed as an act of creation, resulting from the act of reading.

The First Part of Ieronimo

The first part of Ieronimo is itself an excellent demonstration of readers taking texts and making them their own, while emphasizing the explicit tie between body and book and how bodies can be imprinted upon and vice versa. The play, Lukas Erne argues, is a demonstration of “someone who had come into the possession of a manuscript of Don Horatio [and then] largely rewrote the play for the Children of the Chapel,” making the play the equivalent of early modern fan fiction. The play then is not a prequel to *The Spanish Tragedy* written by Kyd, as other scholars have argued, rather, it served to capitalize upon the popularity of *The Spanish Tragedy* and blended parts of *Don Horatio* to form a newly composed work.¹⁰⁶ If this is indeed the case, the reader as writer has chosen to emphasize bits from *The Spanish Tragedy* that are not as grounded in the direct quotation of books (rather the focus shifts to letters), but the world of the play is still one filled with texts (here, letters).¹⁰⁷

Letter writing is extensively highlighted in *The First Part of Ieronimo*, with well over 100 lines dedicated not only to the dictation of a letter (Ieronimo to Horatio) but also to the proper folding and re-reading of said letter: “What fold paper that way, to a noble man, / to Don Andrea Spaines ambassador? / Fie I am shamed to see it” (Ci[v]).¹⁰⁸ The materiality of the text is emphasized, which also serves to highlight the fragmented nature of the writer/reader. Similarly, the *Schoenbartbuch* (Nürnberg Carnival Book) illustrates the concept of a subject’s identity being composed from a number of texts (see Figure

¹⁰⁶ Lukas Erne. *Beyond The Spanish Tragedy: A Study of the Works of Thomas Kyd*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 23.

¹⁰⁷ I discuss the significance of letters in my fourth chapter.

¹⁰⁸ *The first part of Ieronimo: With the Warres of Portugall, and the life and death of Don Andraea* (London, 1605); Folger: STC 15085. Ci,v.

2.3).¹⁰⁹ On page 212 one can see a man dressed entirely in letters. The image not only reinforces the connection between manuscripts and clothing but also the simultaneous oneness and fragmented nature of the human figure. Composed of more than five dozen letters, the man's clothing prominently features a collection of letters with wax seals and writing visible for each letter. The man also holds a letter in his hand. The viewer can imagine that he has in fact pulled this letter from his own dress. The image also illustrates the cycle of readers becoming writers. Letters circulate; the image of this man depicts how this move toward writing is an act that is composed of distinct pieces that can both be put together and pulled apart (or dismembered).¹¹⁰ The fragmenting nature of reading can be viewed as a potentially positive generative force. This image uses texts to cover the surface of the body, acting as clothing for the wearer. The tie between clothing and texts is one that can be seen not only in the play—Andrea is warned by the false wearing of clothing and Hieronimo uses his scarf as a reminder for revenge—but it also serves as a reminder that texts and clothing were often one in the same, since manuscript leaves were sometimes recycled and used as lining for clothing.¹¹¹ After having disguised Alcario, Lorenzo declares that he is “as like Andrea *part for part*” (C4[r]); emphasizing that one is composed of pieces, which become transferrable. Here a transference of clothes is enough to make one appear as another.

¹⁰⁹ *Schoenbartbuch*. Coll. 170. MS. 351. UCLA Library Digital Collections. Web. 27 October 2015.

¹¹⁰ This also recalls the detached and disembodied hand that is featured in writing manuals.

¹¹¹ Henrike Lähnemann has presented her research on the discovery of manuscripts used as lining in dresses by nuns in a Cistercian convent of Wienhausen in Northern Germany in the late fifteenth century. Nora Wilkerson. “Texts and Textiles: Finding Manuscripts in Unusual Places.” *The Conveyor: Research in Special Collections at the Bodleian*. 6 June 2014. Web. 27 October 2015. Other examples include lining made for a bishop's mitre out of a thirteenth century Norse manuscript (Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, MS AM 666 b 4to) and a vest made out of a fourteenth century Icelandic manuscript (Arnamagnæan Samling (University of Copenhagen and Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, Reykjavík), manuscript 122b, fol. II). See Erik Kwakkel. “Wearing a Book.” 13 June 2014. Web. 27 October 2015.



Figure 2.3 Image courtesy of UCLA Library Digital Collections. *Schoenbartbuch* Coll. 170 MS 351, p. 212.

Alcario is mistaken for Andrea; his body stands as a substitute for a wax seal (and letter) that has gone missing to warn Andrea of an assassination attempt:

I but slain in thought,
 To see so strang a likenes forged and wrought,
 Lords cannot you yet discry
 Who is the owner, of this red melting body. (Di[v])

The ties between the two are especially noticeable because of the lengthy amount of timespent detailing the composition (and presentation of—folding, etc.) of the letter. The body is described like red melting wax. In the letter’s absence, Alcario’s body serves as text for Andrea to read. Andrea’s body imprints upon his clothes, which then transfers to Alcario and allows him to be mistaken for Andrea.

Violence is not only inherent in writing, but as is demonstrated in this play, can be extended to spoken words. Isabella interprets the exchange between Horatio and Ieronimo as one where “Hees writing a loue letter to some Spanish Lady, / And now he calls for war to seale it” (C3[r]). Juxtaposing these lines, which mix the nature of violence in the written word with that of the spoken (“he calls for war to seale it”) illustrates a slippage or exchange between written and spoken words:

Bal: Ile top thy head for that ambitious word.
Bal: Hath war made thee so impudent and young,
My sword shall giue correction to thy toong.
[...]
Ho.: I thou beest valliant cease the[s]e words,
And let reuenge hang on our glittering swords,
With this proud prince the haughty Balthezer. (Fi[v])

These lines contain direct opposition with “words” and “swords”—creating a visual pairing of the two. Here, the sword can be imagined as a pen, which corrects speech as it would the errors in a text. Speech is once again attempted to be stopped up—to “cease the[s]e words”—and instead preference is given to the written word—“let revenge hang on our glittering swords.”

Examining *Titus Andronicus* and *The Spanish Tragedy* makes evident the potential negative forces made available through the act of reading. Whether the dismembering of texts is deployed in a positive or negative manner is dependent upon the

user—the reader—who re-shapes the texts to be reflective of his/her own inner self. The resulting creation transforms a reader into an author. Viewing *The First Part of Ieronimo* as a model response to Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, mirrors how a reader becomes an author through the assemblage of other texts into a newly reframed whole. This new text manifests a physical representation of the hybrid book/body. My next chapter explores whether one aspect (book or body) of the hybrid unit has more agency than the other and how each entity is able to influence the other.

CHAPTER 3

“THE WORD BECAME FLESH”: THE BOOK AS BODY, THE BODY AS BOOK¹¹²

-“Sweete receiue it and in it my heart, and when thou readst a mouing syllable thinke that my soule was secretary to it.”¹¹³

Books and readers form and fashion each other. This ability is highlighted in both *The Duchess of Malfi* and *Doctor Faustus* through the leaky and permeable nature of both books and bodies as a way of representing the hybrid book/body; each is presented as being capable of infecting the other and is able to do so because of its permeable nature. While it is easy enough to imagine readers affecting texts, what does the reverse look like? This chapter focuses on the use of the Bible on the early modern stage in *The Duchess of Malfi* and *Doctor Faustus*. The Bible provides the most illustrative example of the hybrid book/body circuit. In their use of Catholic imagery and figures, most visible in the parody of the mass in *Doctor Faustus*, both plays highlight this transformative relationship: the act of reading enables two previously distinct bodies to become one in a new hybrid form. When examining these two plays, the question arises as to who or what has more agency; rather than trying to discern a clear victor, pairing the two plays together instead shows the complete circuit, or rather the complete process of the act of

¹¹² Portions of this chapter appeared in Emily Rendek, “The Book as Body: Annotated Renaissance Texts and Prosthesis.” *Object Oriented Environs*. Eds. Jeffrey Cohen and Julian Yates (Punctum Books, 2016): 103-111. Please see Appendix D for permission to reproduce.

¹¹³ William Howe’s *Commonplace Book*, Folger V.a.87, 14r. This extract is taken from Marston’s *Insatiate Countess* (1.1.407-409).

reading, thereby exhibiting the quality of the hybrid book/body to be both/and. Both the Cardinal and Faustus try to circumvent or reject the hybrid nature of the book/body circuit, bringing to the forefront the early modern anxiety that the soul, body, and text are inextricably linked. This chapter closes by looking at early modern book curses, which demonstrate the book's ability to act in the reader's stead. Anathemas emphasize the book's potential as an agent of violence, while also serving as a reminder that the act of reading itself is inherently violent.

William Howe's commonplace book (Folger V.a.87, c.1650) combines religious texts with excerpts from early modern drama, and through this combination, he emphasizes both the body and the word's ability to transform. The religious excerpts in Howe's commonplace book, which are written in two distinct hands, appear in a tidy mixed secretary hand, while the play excerpts are in an italic hand (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2). The plays that the commonplace book excerpts include works by Marston, Shirley, Hausted, Chapman, and Massinger, as well as the anonymous *The Valliant Scott*. Of the ten plays commonplaced 4 are comedies, 3 are tragedies, 2 are tragicomedies, and 1 is a history. The pages are ruled so that the owner can write in marginal references (for example Bible verses), creating a sort of doubly annotated text. The above extract from Marston's *Insatiate Countess* (1613) demonstrates movement from one body to another (see Figure 3.1). The transmission is both consuming (works are processed) and creative (producing new works). In the following excerpt from Howe's commonplace book the body becomes a text that "is Excellently glossed upon," as the word of God transfers to the reader's body and allows two bodies to be present in one:

J shall see God in my flesh, that is, (as it is Excellently glossed upon) J in my flesh shall see God, or J shall see God haueing taken Flesh on him if J

have this faith in particularitie and can apply things general unto mine
owne Cumfort: then God, Even my God shall give me his Blessing. (3r)

The understanding of the body's ability to transform and be both/and supports the many references to the body's ability to resurrect and achieve eternal life. The hybrid nature of the book and body results in neither being fully what it is "supposed" to be, fully text or fully human. This quality of being "not quite" x or y is perhaps explained by Bruno Latour's insistence that the world is full of "quasi-objects" and "quasi-subjects."¹¹⁴ The ability to be both/and (to become a hybrid body) is key to understanding what it meant to read in the early modern period.

The Bible demonstrates this hybrid nature with the notion of the word becoming flesh, best exemplified through the familiar Bible verse: "In the beginning was the Worde, and the Worde was with God, and that Worde was God. The same was in the beginning w^t God."¹¹⁵ The belief in the ability of an object to fundamentally transform can be seen in transubstantiation: "by the consecration of the bread and wine there takes place a change of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ our Lord and of the whole substance of his blood."¹¹⁶ This statement comes out of the Council of Trent (1545 – 1564), which served as a key moment in the Counter Reformation and worked to clarify Church doctrine.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ See my introduction for a further discussion of how Latour (and Serres) have informed my project.

¹¹⁵ *The Bible and Holy Scriptvres Contained in the Olde and Newe Testament* (Geneva, Rovland Hall, 1560). John 1:1-2.

¹¹⁶ CCC, 1376.

¹¹⁷ The relationship between the body, Bible, and text can also be seen in Melchor de Cabrera Nuñez de Guzman's text, *Discurso legal, histórico y político en prueba del origen, progressos, utilidad, nobleza y excelencias del Arte de la Imprinta....* Roger Chartier translates the following passage from de Guzman as man being "the result of printing. God placed on the press his image and seal so that the copy would turn out exactly in the form that it should be [...] and he wished at the same time to be made joyful by such numerous and varied copies of his mysterious original." Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Arthur

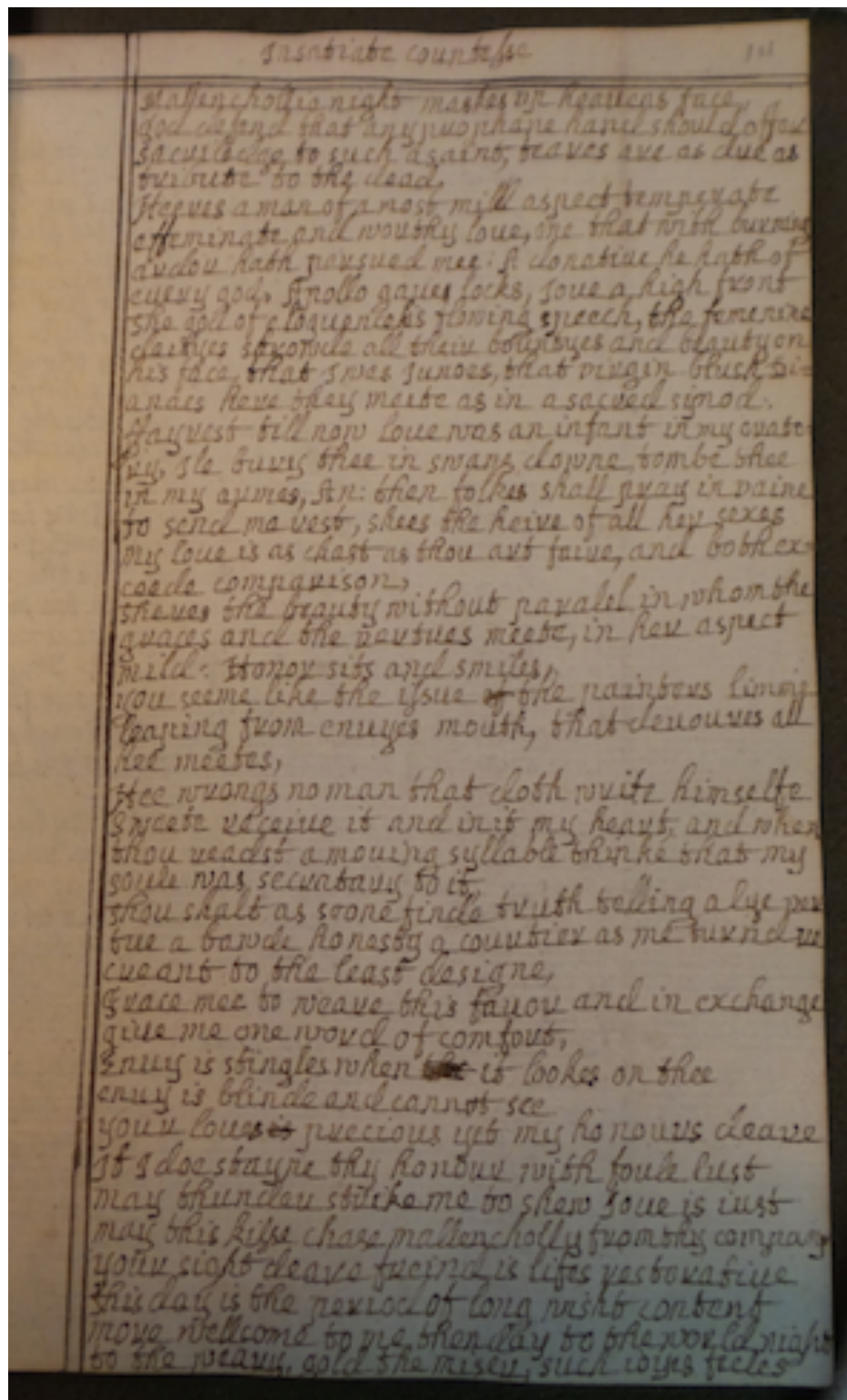


Figure 3.1 Image courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library, V.a.87, 14r.

Goldhammer, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007): 41. The original Spanish can be found on ff. 3v-6r of *Discurso legal...* (Madrid, 1675).

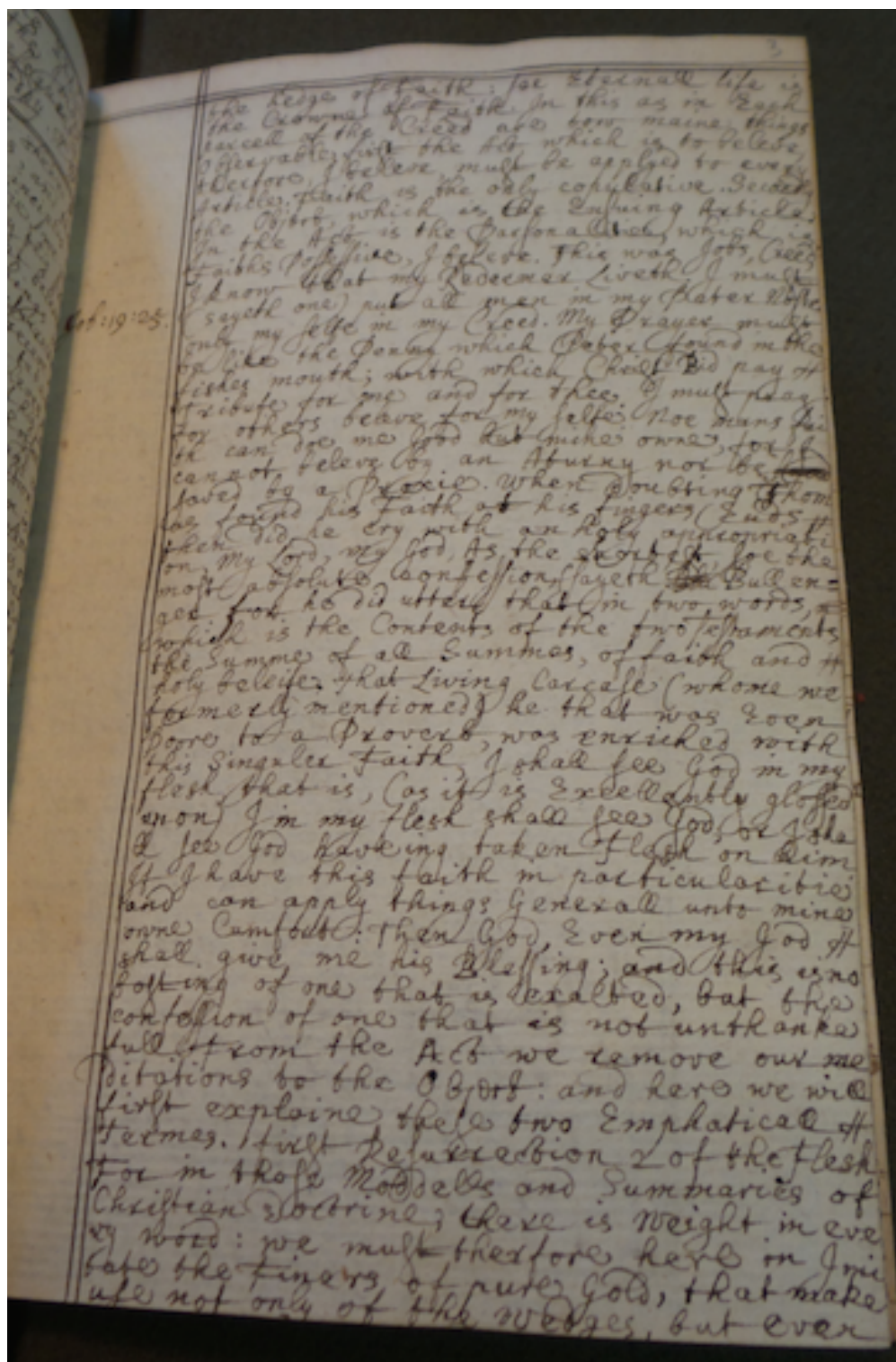


Figure 3.2 Image courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library, V.a.87, 3r.

Reading and writing are explicitly tied together with the use of the Bible.

Nicholas Byfield's *Directions for the priuate reading of the Scriptures* calls for the reader to have paper at the ready when reading: "First make thee a little paper booke of a sheete or two of paper, as may be most portable: then write vpon the toppe of euery leafe the title for that that thou wouldest obserue in reading."¹¹⁸ Reading is not a passive experience; it requires creation. As the most frequently read text in the early modern period, the Bible on the early modern stage provides a familiar text with which to shape and inform reading practices: "¹¹⁹ Kate Narveson argues that "[a]n unintended consequence of the Reformation was the push to teach layfolk to read Scripture."¹²⁰ By using the Bible as the featured reading text in both plays, Webster and Marlowe create a shared, communal reading experience that their audiences and readers can then relate to their readings of other texts. The translation of the Bible into English meant that the Word of God was open to a much wider audience. Lay people were encouraged to read, and to read repeatedly, as is seen in Thomas Cranmer's *Certaine sermons appointed by the Queens Maistie* (1574):

¹¹⁸ Nicholas Byfield, *Directions for the priuate reading of the Scriptures* (London, 1618). A10r. This call to writing when reading the Bible can also be seen in Jane Cavendish's "The Minds Salvation":

This day I did in perspective one veiwe
A Lady who did looke as if twas you
With Bible great upon her Table layd
Yett with her pen & Inke expresses made
And sent them to his Excellence of witt
Whose iust commaunds, shee euer would thinke fit
Desireing that hee would her comfort give
That by his resurrection she might live.
Beinecke Library, Yale University, MS. Osborn 223, fol. 39.

¹¹⁹ David Katz notes, "Following the Reformation, the English Bible would be the text that was read the most, heard the most, and discussed the most at all levels of society becoming the 'ubiquitous standard of culture and authority.'" David S. Katz, *God's Last Words: Reading the English Bible from the Reformation to Fundamentalism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 41.

¹²⁰ Kate Narveson, *Bible Readers and Lay Writers in Early Modern England: Gender and Self Definition in an Emergent Writing Culture*. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 1. See also, Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth Century Revolution* (London: Allen Lane, 1993), 39.

And there is nothing that so much strengthneth our fayth, and trust in God that so much keepeth vp innocence and pureness of the hart, and also of our outward godly lyfe and conversation, as *continual readyng and recordyng* of Gods word. For that (by continual vse of readyng of holy Scripture, diligent searching of the same) is *deepely printed and grauen in the harte*, at length turneth almoste into nature.¹²¹

Focusing on the use of the Bible emphasizes that reading was a communal act, made evident through hearing the Word of God read and analyzed in sermons to the reading and sharing of the Word at home. This communal act mimics the body of the church, which is composed of many parts but one body.

While it may be easy to slip into the mindset that books, though influenced by the reader, remain separate from the body, the religious rhetoric of the time period demonstrates that the concept of many bodies transforming into one is not implausible for early moderns when applied to the act of reading. Stephen Orgel argues that

conceiving of a text not simply as reading matter or written speech but as a property, and more particularly as a location or even a building, is deeply embedded in the history of rhetoric: Even today we speak of *constructing* an argument, *building* a case. In this metaphor, readers have an instrumental function, because apprehending the work involves reconstructing the argument—which may involve writing on the walls.¹²²

Readers “reconstruct” the texts they have read, but in reconstructing they are not simply “writing on the walls” as a way to show some involvement but rather are involved in the reconstruction of the text into a new form. Readers are not passive; participating in the formation of the new building allows them to become a part of the building itself.

¹²¹ Thomas Cranmer, *Certaine sermons appoynted by the Queenes Maiestie*. (London, 1574). A4r, emphasis added.

¹²² Stephen Orgel. *The Reader in the Book*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 6. Orgel does not proceed much further in his argument with the idea of reading as a building. For more on texts as furniture see Jeffrey Todd Knight, “‘Furnished for Action’: Renaissance Publications; Books as Furniture,” *Book History* 12 (2009): 37-73. And *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

In exploring the use of texts and the creation of commonplace books, as was discussed in my previous chapter, my study goes beyond the printed book. This chapter further explores the interactions between reader and page, including both the printed page and touch between both members (reader and text).¹²³ Studying these types of exchanges between reader and text provides a better understanding of how books were used during the early modern period and demonstrates to modern readers how two bodies comeingle. Writing permanently changes the structure of the page (remaking the book); by leaving their marks, readers insert themselves into the “flesh” of the page. Here, it is useful to consider the ways the many meanings the term “body” describe or comprehend these blurred boundaries. The *OED* lists approximately a dozen definitions that are applicable: from “the physical form of a person, animal, or plant” to “the main portion of a document or other text,” as well as “more widely: a material thing, an object; something that has physical existence and extension in space.”¹²⁴ The reader is not only imprinted by the text but imprints the text itself (both literally and figuratively). There is an exchange that occurs between text and body that results in the hybrid book/body.¹²⁵

The relationship between text and body more closely resembles a circuit—one that can best be observed by pairing *The Duchess of Malfi* and *Doctor Faustus*. Although Catholic sacraments are parodied throughout (e.g. transubstantiation), Faustus’ downfall

¹²³ The Folger Shakespeare Library’s “Project Dust Bunny” studies the gutter waste material previously thrown in the trash during conservation. These “biological annotations” provide further insight into who read the texts (men, women, and how many readers). Michael Witmore, “What Else is in Our Books?”, Shakespearean Forensics Plenary Session. SAA March 2016. In studying a seventeenth century copy of the New Testament, the Folger learned that there was potentially DNA from two people in the gutter of the text, both from Northern Europe, at least one of whom suffered from acne.

¹²⁴ “body, n.” *OED Online*. June 2014. Oxford University Press. 25 August 2014. <<http://oed.com>> See also Caroline Bynum, “Why All the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist’s Perspective,” *Critical Inquiry* 22.1 (Autumn 1995): 1-33.

¹²⁵ Helen Smith depicts the changes made between reader and text as one directional—only affecting the reader. See Helen Smith, “Embodying Early Modern Women’s Reading,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73.3 (Sept 2010).

ultimately stems from his willful choice to not incorporate the entirety of the Bible passage he reads into his decision making and actions. While Faustus does not use the Bible as a murder object the way the Cardinal does in *The Duchess of Malfi*, the Bible in *Doctor Faustus* does indirectly cause the death of the title character. It is Faustus' willful misreading of the Bible and the book's blasphemous use for the devil's purpose that brings about the eponymous character's downfall. Texts become poisonous beings—either literally through the use of a poisoned book in *The Duchess of Malfi*, or as in *Doctor Faustus*, where the misreading of the Bible poisons and corrupts Faustus's soul. While *The Duchess of Malfi* gives the book human qualities and agency, *Doctor Faustus* dehumanizes its main character, who tries to convince others that his books are equivalent with his own life in a misguided attempt to save himself. Books do not solely imprint upon the reader. Books and readers form and fashion each other.

“I have bound thee to ‘t by death”: Books as Bodies in *The Duchess of Malfi*

Through the figures of the Cardinal and his Bible, John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* illustrates that the relationship between book and reader is symbiotic. The Cardinal's overpowering, poisonous character (he would be “able to possess the greatest devil, and make him worse” [1.1.46-47])¹²⁶ is altered by his (mis)reading of the Bible and other religious texts (see 5.5.1-10). His evil nature infects the book itself, allowing it to literally become poisonous, purposefully killing Julia. In the play, the use of the book as murder weapon demonstrates how the boundary between book and body (of the reader)

¹²⁶ All citations from *The Duchess of Malfi* come from the 1998 New Mermaids edition. John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*, Ed. Elziabeth M. Brennan, (London: A&C Black: 1998).

become indistinguishable as both the permeability of the page and of the body are emphasized throughout the play.¹²⁷

The permeability of both page and body serves in direct contrast to the repeated prison imagery set throughout the play. An example of the use of prison imagery can be found at 3.2.137-139, as the Duchess asks Ferdinand, “Why should only I, / Of all the other princes of the world / Be cas’d up, like a holy relic?” This quotation also serves as an example of the Duchess being conceived of as an object. The desire to “cas[e] up” demonstrates an attempt to prevent and stop up the leakiness of bodies and texts, but any endeavors to create secure boundaries between body and text fail, as shown again and again in early modern playtexts.

Helkiah Crooke’s *Mikrokosmographia* (1615) emphasizes the ability of the skin to retain multiple possibilities in its function and uses to be both/and, as it “serue[s] either for receyuing in or letting out, or *both* as neede shall require.”¹²⁸ While Crooke’s work suggests that the skin’s ability to let in, out, or do both is easily controlled, both *The Duchess of Malfi* and *Doctor Faustus* show that this is not always the case. For Crooke, reading also relies upon more than just sight: “a man cannot see to read vpon a booke that is layd vpon his eye; because there wantenth the meane the obiect and the instrument of

¹²⁷ For further discussion of the body and embodied texts see Gail Weiss, “The Body as Narrative Horizon,” in *Thinking the Limits of the Body*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Gail Weiss, (Albany: SUNY Press, 2003), 23-35. And for additional discussion of posthuman hybrid relationships see Jeffrey Jerome Cohen’s essay, “The Inhuman Circuit,” in *Thinking the Limits of the Body*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Gail Weiss, (Albany: SUNY Press, 2003), 167-186.

¹²⁸ Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia* (London: 1615), 71, emphasis added.

sense.”¹²⁹ Reading is a multi-sensory experience with both text and reader affecting the other.¹³⁰

The ease with which the imagined boundaries between body and text are broken can be seen in the imagery of the play, which describes the body and material text as pourous and fragile. Bosola speaks to the porousness of skin in Act 4 and its inability to keep things from escaping. Flesh is a “fantastical puff-paste: our bodies are weaker than those paper prisons boys use to keep flies in: more contemptible; since ours is to preserve earth-worms: didst thou ever see a lark in a cage? such is the soul in the body” (4.2.125-128). “Paper prisons” emphasizes the futility of attempting to keep things in, as it is both easily damaged and easily degrades, and connects that futility to the frailty and porousness of skin. Here, and elsewhere in the play, the body represents the capability of being both/and—of having the potential to be multiple things at once. The body follows Crooke’s depiction of the skin as something that can take in and let out, be “weaker than those paper prisons,” and serve as a sturdier (bird)cage to entrap the soul. Though just as with a birdcage there must be a door for the bird to get in/out, so too does death enable the soul’s escape from the body. This both/and imagery occurs numerous times during the play and is also key to understanding the relationship between book and reader, as it illustrates the hybrid body’s ability to simultaneously contain properties of each.

The Cardinal’s own moral corruption has affected his book, and while porousness is corrupting here, that need not always be the case. Porousness also has the potential to generate a positive creation. The Cardinal does not deliver poison through what might be

¹²⁹ Ibid., 72.

¹³⁰ See also Joshua Calhoun’s account of the palimpsested nature of paper: Calhoun, “The Word Made Flax: Cheap Bibles, Textual Corruption, and the Poetics of Paper,” *PMLA* 126.2 (March 2011): 327-344

considered the more traditional routes (in food, drink, or even poison on a blade).¹³¹

While the Cardinal's use of the book is ostensibly related to the nature of his profession, and therefore tied to his identity, it also marks the intimate relationship between reader and book. The reader is not aware of when the Cardinal has poisoned his book; instead, it appears that he simply speaks his desires into being: "Yond's my ling'ring consumption: / I am weary of her; and by any means / Would be quite of—" (5.2.225-227). It is almost as if the blurred boundaries between reader and book here are such that the Cardinal's corruption, a corruption that Bosola describes in Act 1, seeps instantaneously into his book.¹³²

While not employing the use of a book as murder weapon, Lodovico, in Webster's *The White Devil*, does propose such a possibility when listing his options for poisoning Brachiano: "T'have poisoned his prayer-book, or a pair of beads, / The pummel of his saddle, his looking-glass, / Or th'handle of his racket—oh, that, that!"¹³³ Lodovico's first thoughts go to poisoning a religious text and then move to another religious object (rosary beads); this thought pattern reinforces the connection between the porousness of the body and text (implicitly connected to religious objects)—again this porousness is not inherently negative. However, as Michael Davies argues, while religious texts, such as prayer books could often be found on stage, actual definitive uses

¹³¹ For examples of each see Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta*, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, and Middleton's *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*. There is also the additional common trope of a poisoned skull seen in such plays as Middleton's *Revengers Tragedy* and Massinger's *Duke of Milan*. I have yet to find another case of a book used as a murder weapon in English Renaissance drama. Today's readers may recall Umberto Eco's *Name of the Rose*, where pages of a book are poisoned, thereby killing readers who lick their fingers as they turn the pages. Other literary examples, which similarly employ the use of poison with books, include *The Thousand and One Nights* "The Vizier and the Sage Duban" and Dumas' *La Reine Margot*.

¹³² "Some fellows, they say, are possessed with the / devil, but this great fellow were able to possess the greatest devil, and make him worse" (1.1.45-7).

¹³³ John Webster. *The White Devil*. David Bevington, Ed. *English Renaissance Drama* (New York: W. W. Norton Company, 2002). 5.1.69-71. Lodovico ends up poisoning Brachiano's helmet in the next scene.

of the Bible are not common because the Bible “could not be played with lightly [...] making the Bible perform as a ‘prop’ could invoke a dilemma even more acute, perhaps even blasphemous.”¹³⁴ There is less at stake in poisoning a prayer book rather than the Bible, which makes the Bible’s use that much more significant in *The Duchess of Malfi* and *Doctor Faustus*. In *The Tempest* the audience is presented with characters *playing* at reading with the introduction of the fake Bible in Act 2 scene 2 as Stephano tries to get Caliban to “kiss the Book”: “Come, swear to that: / kiss the Book. I will *furnish* it anon with new contents” (2.2.136-137, *emph. added*).¹³⁵ Here, words have the power to transform objects. This parody of kissing (and swearing on) the Bible also demonstrates the propensity in the play of working outward from a text into a different object. The audience does not see an actual book; it instead sees Stephano attempting to kiss a bottle. These two examples illustrate the movement from reader into creator. One’s effect on a text does not necessarily have to be negative, but, regardless, the reader’s effect then enables the reader to become creator or author of a new text, as seen with Stephano’s creation of a new transformed object (from bottle into Bible).

The use of poison in *The Duchess of Malfi* reflects the corrupt nature of the world in the play. Miranda Wilson argues that in the early modern period “poisoning often retains this connection to error [...] suggest[ing] limits, both in terms of our knowledge of the world and our ability to control the world.”¹³⁶ The difficulty in detecting poison until it is too late demonstrates humans’ inability to correctly read objects and

¹³⁴ Michael Davies, “Enter the Book: Reading the Bible on the Early Modern Stage.” *Early Modern Drama and the Bible: Contexts and Readings*. A. Streete, Ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012). 29-30.

¹³⁵ See Jeffrey Todd Knight on the significance of the use of the word “furnish” in the early modern period, which I discuss in my introduction.

¹³⁶ Miranda Wilson, *Poison’s Dark Works in Renaissance England*, (Lanham, MD: Bucknell UP, 2014). Xix,

powerlessness in being able to do anything about it. In Henry Goodcole's "A Short Tract Vpon the Hainousnesse of Poysoning" (1635) he proclaims, "Though there be sundry sorts of *Murther* with their severall degrees, as open, or secret, acted upon a friend, a stranger, or ones selfe, yet in my opinion, I know not any of them which containes so much villainy, neither including so many deepe circumstances in them, as that of poysoning."¹³⁷ Goodcole's statement highlights the fear of the unknown—of that which cannot be detected. The act of poisoning demonstrates the dangers of not being able to effectively assess not only one's interior but also one's exterior. Reading a person or object incorrectly can literally cost someone their life. The Cardinal's decision to use poison as his murder weapon shows not only a disordered society, heightened by a man poisoning rather than a woman (who was typically associated with such acts), but also represents the difficulty of identifying one's inner nature as it "constitutes a crime of invisibility."¹³⁸ And yet, the Cardinal cannot poison without detection—his body is a leaky text as he informs both Julia and (indirectly) Bosola of what he has done. Although he desires to prevent Julia from speaking (and does kill her), *he* is the leaky vessel who spreads the information he wanted kept secret. Julia's appearance interrupts the Cardinal's lines, and less than 50 lines later, Julia kisses the poisoned Bible, and the Cardinal tells her:

Now you shall never utter it, thy curiosity
 Hath undone thee; thou'rt poison'd with that book.
 Because I knew thou couldst not keep my counsel,
 I have bound thee to't by death. (5.2.272-276)

¹³⁷ Henry Goodcole, *The adultresses funerall day in flaming, scorching, and consuming fire, or, The burning downe to ashes of Alice Clarke, late of Vxbridge in the county of Middlesex, in West-smith-field on Wensday the 20 of May, 1635 for the unnaturall poisoning of Fortune Clarke her husband* (London, 1635), B3v. EEBO. Accessed 17 June 2016.

¹³⁸ Wilson, xxxiii.

The use of poison here is not just a reflection of the errors brought to light by its use but also of the poisoner's improper employment of the substance. The Cardinal's speech to Julia illustrates the various forms of bodily reception taking place. The aural/oral components are emphasized through his claim that Julia will be unable to speak of his secrets; however, he does not account for Bosola overhearing him. The Cardinal secures Julia's silence through the use of a corrupted text. Through his counsel, the Cardinal's spoken words have become engraved upon Julia's body, binding her as a text to his book. However, much like ink from an annotation that bleeds through cheap paper, the Cardinal discovers that his words have seeped through and also imprinted upon Bosola, who has overheard his secret. The "ling'ring consumption" the Cardinal speaks of suggests a contagion element—his corrupt nature infects multiple bodies: both text and human. The poisoned Bible also presents a new spin on "paper prisons"—though the text kills Julia, the Cardinal's Bible (the paper) releases her soul from her body freeing her from her bodily prison.

More explicit cases of the body being written upon occur elsewhere in the play when the heart is described as a text to be read. As Ferdinand tells the Duchess to kiss a dead man's hand, he also commands her to "bury the print of it in your heart" (4.1.46).¹³⁹ Here the hand is seen as a text that should be imprinted upon the texts already implicitly present in the heart, thereby creating layers of text. This line recalls 2 Corinthians 3:2-3: "Ye are our epistle; written in our hearts, which is vnderstand and red of all men, In that ye are manifest, to be the epistle of Christ, ministred by vs, and written, not with ynce, but with the Spirit of the liuing God, not in tables of stone, but in fleshlie tables of the

¹³⁹ Other examples of the heart as a text occur at 3.2.145-6 and 4.1.16-17. Additionally, in 1.2.379-380, the Duchess tells Antonio, "Being now my steward, here upon your lips / I sign your *Quietus est*."

heart.”¹⁴⁰ Here, the apostle Paul tells the Corinthians that they are “a letter from Christ.” The perversion of these verses from the Bible in *The Duchess of Malfi* emphasizes the malleable nature of the human body *and* text—one that is receptive to others’ imprints (whether human or object). Bodies function as texts—texts that are receptive as they are not of stone but of human flesh.

As Julia kisses the book, the action can be likened to that of a wax seal being applied to a letter, preventing Julia from being able to “utter” anything. As Lynn Maxwell has pointed out, wax imagery is in fact abundant throughout the play—most often associated with the Duchess—and therefore ever-present in the reader’s mind.¹⁴¹ Aside from being malleable, and therefore easily molded and imprinted upon, wax imagery also recalls the use of wax tablets for writing, thereby making the human both an active and passive agent (both imprinting and being imprinted upon), as well as tying the human body to the text.¹⁴²

While Julia is effectively silenced in her death, she has, however, imprinted upon Bosola, further emphasizing the both/and, hybrid nature that exists between text and reader. Julia and Bosola embrace as Bosola tells her, “Come, come, I’ll disarm you / And arm you thus” (5.2.161-162). This touch makes Bosola more receptive and able to learn the Cardinal’s secrets via Julia. The idea that human touch has the potential to imprint upon another—imparting information and enacting change—is first seen when Bosola touches the dying Duchess. It is only after Bosola notes “She’s warm” (4.2.337)—

¹⁴⁰ *The Bible and Holy Scriptvres Contained in the Olde and Newe Testament* (Geneva, Rovland Hall, 1560).

¹⁴¹ For examples of wax imagery see Act 4, scene I, especially lines 62-63, and 110-111. See also Lynn Maxwell, “Wax Magic and *The Duchess of Malfi*,” *Journal of Early Modern Cultural Studies* 14.3 (Summer 2014): 31-54.

¹⁴² For more on wax tablets see Peter Stallybrass, Roger Chartier, J. Franklin Mowery, and Heather Wolfe, “Hamlet’s Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55 (2004): 379-419.

implying touch—that his motives switch from concern about repayment for his deeds to that of avenging the Duchess’s death. Reflecting upon his own change of heart, Bosola asks, “where were / These penitent fountains while she was living? / Oh, they were frozen up” (4.2.358-360). The image of flowing water reinforces the idea of movement and of change being enacted. The prevalence of wax imagery in the play in relation to the Duchess can also be extended to Julia—whose lips the Cardinal attempts to seal like a letter to prevent the knowledge she contains from being read by others. In this scene with Bosola, the Duchess’ wax figure is melted by his touch—enabling Bosola to enter into the textual body of the Duchess. If Julia is “posion’d with that book,” then ultimately so too is Bosola, who dies only three scenes later (at 5.5.104).¹⁴³ The corrupting poisonous nature of the Cardinal, emphasized by the use of the word “consumption,” has spread and infected others.

Act 3 contains several instances of the relationship between book and reader as detrimental, sometimes even dangerous. Shortly after the reader learns of Malateste’s dependence upon books, Delio describes Bosola as a “fantastical scholar” (3.3.40) who “hath studied himself half blear-ey’d” (3.3.43-44). Bosola only demonstrates the possibility of the proper relationship between reader and text when he is imprinted upon by the Duchess (4.2). In Act 5, the Cardinal also implicitly connects bad fortune with books: “the Prince set up late *at’s book*” and was “altr’d much in face / And language” after seeing a figure (5.2.93, 96-97; *emph. added*). “Book knowledge” is constantly looked down upon, as Count Malateste’s dependence upon books as his only source of knowledge leads to him being described as only *seeming* like a soldier:

¹⁴³ Bosola’s death also reinforces the indiscriminate nature of poison.

DELIO: He hath read all the late service,
 As the City chronicle relates it,
 And keeps painters going, only to express
 Battles in model.
 SILVIO: Then he'll fight by the book.
 DELIO: By the almanac, I think. (3.3.17-21)¹⁴⁴

Delio and Silvio's exchange depicts a sliding scale of accuracy (via different genres: chronicle, painting, book, and almanac). Delio argues that books (and paintings) alone are no substitute for actual experience. Reading should not occur in a vacuum; reading books in isolation is depicted as a recipe for disaster. This emphasizes the significance of the communal nature of reading and the many bodies involved in creating texts. Delio's clarification that Malateste will fight by the almanac rather than the book is an important one. Almanacs were second in popularity only to the Bible in terms of books that early modern people would have owned;¹⁴⁵ they also were normally sold alongside writing utensils. These writing tools, as well as the "blanks," or inserted pages, that were included in almanacs, implicitly encouraged writing on the owner's part. Malateste's explicit connection to almanacs rather than books generally puts him in the position of reader *as* text—he becomes "A marginal note in the muster book" (3.3.10-11). Muster rolls listed men capable of bearing arms in defense of their crown and country. Being deemed but "a marginal note" textualizes Malateste's body, and for Delio at least, creates an awareness that Malateste is not to be trusted. To Delio, Malateste's "marginal" nature suggests he is not only a product of books but of a reader who believes they know more than the book, tying him to my analysis of Faustus, which I discuss in the following section.

¹⁴⁴ Silvio's comment also recalls Juliet's line, "You kiss by th'book" in *Romeo and Juliet* (1.5.121).

¹⁴⁵ Esutace F. Bosanquet, "English Seventeenth Century Almanacks," *The Library*. 10.4 (1930): 371.

The act of reading creates a fluidity between book and reader—one where the transformative nature of the play helps to emphasize that book and reader cannot be separated. The “thingliness” generated by the act of reading—transforming objects into quasi-humans and humans into quasi-objects—is represented by the large number of transformations the reader witnesses throughout the play. As Martha Lifson notes, “dramatic metamorphosis has been prepared for throughout the play, as things keep forming, deforming, reforming in rapid succession [...] the Cardinal turns soldier, the steward turns husband, a wife turns whore, a baby grows instantaneously, i.e., in stage time to a boy, [and] the Duchess turns grey overnight.”¹⁴⁶ It is the Cardinal’s moral corruption, and therefore corrupt relationship with his book, that infects and brings about these bodily changes in the other characters.¹⁴⁷

In a play that is heavily aware of its theatricality, the playtext is also aware of its nature as a material text. While I have thus far been more closely examining how the act of reading was presented on the stage, here I turn to the printed playtext. *The Duchess of Malfi*’s title page insists on reminding its readers of its both/and qualities in its assertion that this text is both “As it was Presented priuatly, at the Black-Friers; and publiquely at the Globe, By the Kings Maiesties Seruants” and “The perfect and exact Coppy, with diuerse things Printed, that the length of the Play would not beare in the Presentment.” The playbook is the first published English play to contain a cast list,¹⁴⁸ but most importantly it also contains marked sententiae throughout the playtext through the use of

¹⁴⁶ Martha Ronk Lifson, “Embodied Morality in ‘The Duchess of Malfi,’” *Pacific Coast Philology* 23 ½ (Nov. 1988): 54.

¹⁴⁷ The idea of a ripple-like effect—one person’s actions spreading out and affecting everyone else’s—is brought up in the opening lines of the play as Antonio likens “a Prince’s court” to that of “a common fountain.” See 1.1.11-15.

¹⁴⁸ Elizabeth M. Brennan, ed., *The Duchess of Malfi* (London: A&C Black, 1998), 2.

quotation marks and italics.¹⁴⁹ Emphasizing the material nature of the printed book demonstrates how the page tries to exert authority over the reader. The playbook includes 16 marked sententiae, with the highest number of sayings attributed to Bosola (a total of four instances, amounting to 25%). The playtext attempts to restrict the act of reading for its audience with its pre-marked phrases (perhaps in the same misguided fashion as the Cardinal's attempts to keep his secret by killing Julia), but these prescriptions for reading do not account for the reader's effect on the text.

The permeable natures of the text and reader result in a contest for ultimate authority. The last lines of the play refer to the misguided nature of the Cardinal, Bosola, and Ferdinand:

These wretched eminent things
Leave no more fame behind 'em, than should one
Fall in frost, and leave his print in snow,
As soon as the sun shines, it ever melts
Both form and matter. (5.5.112-116)

Delio's lines suggest that the characters' corrupted natures negatively affect the text's ability to influence the reader. The failed attempts to imprint upon others are as evanescent as melting snow. If the Cardinal, Bosola, and Ferdinand can be viewed as texts trying to persuade their readers, the audience sees instead that the reader has the last word. The text's attempt at final authority is punctuated by the final two lines of the play—also marked as sententiae, calling attention to the material text and of potential uses for this playtext. While the text might suggest which bits are ripe for picking,

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., xl.

ultimately that authority lies with readers, who shape their new textual creation to form and make visible their ideas of self.¹⁵⁰

Sententiae represent a desire for control—for the ability to regulate readers—but much like solid boundaries cannot be created between reader and text, the reader cannot be controlled by textual prescriptions. The knowledge that this is a corrupt world is something that the reader is confronted with from the beginning as Antonio states:

a Prince's court
Is like a common fountain, whence should flow
Pure silver-drops in general. But if't chance
Some curs'd example poison't near the head,
Death and diseases through the whole land spread. (1.1.11-15)

The water imagery reinforces the idea of movement (of the ability for corruption to spread easily without impediment) but also, and perhaps most importantly, the permeable boundaries between reader and text: once something drops in the fountain it cannot be separated out—it now constitutes a whole new entity. These lines also appropriately contain the play's first marked sententiae. Several lines later Bosola describes the Cardinal by saying, "Some fellows, they say, are possessed with the devil, but this great fellow were able to posses the greatest devil, and make him worse" (1.1.45-47). If the Cardinal is thought of as someone who could make even a devil more evil then perhaps it does not seem too far of a stretch for the audience to think of the Cardinal as someone who could corrupt a Bible. It is worth emphasizing, however, that the Cardinal is only able to poison the cover and not the actual text of the Bible; he is unable to penetrate beyond the outer shell. In his failure to affect the text fully, the Cardinal also fails in the process of his own identity formation. These acts of possession suggest how easily one being is able to affect another. Antonio then describes Ferdinand as having "a most

¹⁵⁰ For a more detailed discussion of the role of sententiae see Chapter 4.

perverse and turbulent nature” (1.2.91). From the start, readers understand that this is a corrupt world. But the bookending of the play with *sententiae* emphasizes not only the material object of the book but also the importance of the reader in relation to the playtext. Readers are called on to commonplace selections from the text—to interact with and make the (new) text the reader’s own. While the text may try to “train” readers on what may be deemed worthy sections to extract, the reader cannot be controlled. It is in the action of commonplacing that the relationship between book and reader can begin again.

And yet, as is fitting with a play that highlights the both/and of the body, there is also a hopeful quality to the ending of the play, one that I prefer over the negative outlook that argues for the futility of the characters’ actions in a chaotic world.¹⁵¹ Delio’s final words remind the reader of the use of wax tablets for writing and the ease with which content can be erased—like one who “leave[s] his print in snow, / As soon as the sun shines, it ever melts, / Both form and matter.” The text, with its final two lines marked as *sententiae*, looks to its reader for recuperation—it does not place its hope in the world of the play. The characters readers have been confronted with are just that—characters. Over and over again readers are given a description by one character of another, coupled with repeated moments that highlight the play’s metatheatricality. The potential for starting over lies with the play’s readers. Here then, the play’s many connections between reading and poisonous behavior merely serve as a warning—they are not condemnations of the hybrid relationship between book and reader.

¹⁵¹ For further discussion of the different interpretations of the final passages of the play see Elizabeth M. Brennan, Ed., “Additional Notes,” *The Duchess of Malfi* (London: A&C Black: 1998), 136-137.

“[T]ear me in pieces”: The Body as Book in *Doctor Faustus*

Unlike *The Duchess of Malfi*, where a book is given agency and endowed with human qualities, the titular character of *Doctor Faustus* is instead dehumanized and ultimately equated with his books.¹⁵² By using third person when talking about himself¹⁵³ and putting stock in his books, Faustus creates a dissociation of self, thereby becoming less human. By the end of the play Faustus hopes that the promise of the destruction of his books will substitute for his own life: “Ugly hell, gape not. Come not Lucifer! / I’ll burn my books. O, Mephistopheles!” (5.2.190-191, B-text).¹⁵⁴ Having promised his soul to the devil he believes destroying his books should become the equivalent of the destruction of his soul.

Readers are drawn into Faustus’ private space, his study, numerous times throughout the course of the play. In fact, the readers’ first introduction to Faustus is “in his study” (Prologue.27, B-text), thereby drawing readers fully into the world of printed books.¹⁵⁵ Although the title character of the play has engaged in acts of misreading (as well as repeated instances of failing to listen to what is said to him), the entirety of *Doctor Faustus* can be viewed as a guide for the audience on how to (or perhaps rather how *not* to) read.

¹⁵² *Doctor Faustus*, however, also portrays a book as being able to give birth to a being. Faustus is able to conjure a wife from the “sweet book” that Mephistopheles gives him. See 2.2.167.

¹⁵³ “Settle thy studies Faustus, and begin / To sound the depth of that thou wilt profess.” 1.1.1-2

¹⁵⁴ Unless otherwise noted, all quotes come from Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus A- and B-texts (1604, 1616): Christopher Marlowe and His Collaborator and Revisers*, Ed. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993).

¹⁵⁵ So fully were actors drawn into the world of the play that “Certaine Players at Exeter, acting upon the stage the tragical storie of Dr. Faustus the Conjuror a certaine number of Devels kept everie one his circle there, and as Faustus was busie in his magicall invocations, on a sudden they were all dasht, every one harkning other in the eare, for they were all perswaded, there was one devell too many amongst them; and so after a little pause desired the people to pardon them, they could go no further with this matter; the people also understanding the thing as it was, every man hastened to be first out of dores.” E.K. Chambers. *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 3. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), 423-424.

Doctor Faustus is a play about the dangers of the act of reading—particularly the potential for misreading. As Sarah Wall-Randall demonstrates, contemporary accounts of the history of print “inseparably entwine[ed] [...] the two Faustuses, printer and necromancer, both of debatable existence and identity [...] overlap[ping] in the historical imagination.”¹⁵⁶ Readers are immediately thrown into the world of the book. Readers of the play are doubly reminded of the connection not only by the name of the title character, but by the 1616 title-page woodcut, which depicts Doctor Faustus holding a book with a demon standing outside the circle Faustus has been placed in. The Folger’s 1631 copy of *The Tragicall Historie of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* (STC 17436), though devoid of annotations, does contain a clear fingerprint, which Sarah Werner believes to belong to the printer and not an owner because of its appearance in the gutter.¹⁵⁷ If that is the case, then it would seem especially fitting for the printing history of this play. The term “printer’s devils” was often used for apprentices in print shops; Werner jests “that the mark appears on this particular play in this particular section lets us joke that not only do devils exist—they leave fingerprints!”¹⁵⁸ In its potential origination in the print shop, this copy of *Doctor Faustus* arrives at its first reader already possessing a discernably human element: books and bodies are enmeshed.

The B-text of *Doctor Faustus* emphasizes Faustus’ lack of agency. The B-text, printed 12 years after the A-text in 1616, “omits a few short speeches or episodes totaling 36 lines in the A-text, provides new passages totaling 676 lines, and introduces thousands

¹⁵⁶ Sarah Wall-Randall. “*Doctor Faustus* and the Printer’s Devil.” *SEL* 48.2 (Spring 2008): 259-81. 260.

¹⁵⁷ The fingerprint appears on H2[r]. For the full text of Werner’s post see: “A book’s fingerprints.” *The Collation*. 15 May 2012. Accessed 17 January 2016.

¹⁵⁸ Sarah Werner. “A book’s fingerprints.” *The Collation*. 15 May 2012. Accessed 17 January 2016.

of verbal changes.”¹⁵⁹ Mephistopheles tells Faustus, “When thou took’st the book / To view the scriptures, then I turned the leaves and led thine eye” (5.2.100-102, B-text). This revelation takes some of the blame off Faustus, for it was not his misreading of the Bible that led entirely to his demise but rather Mephistopheles’ interference and influence that leads to Faustus’ downfall. However, it still points to the Catholic viewpoint of the dangers of the Protestant ideal of private interpretation of scripture. Faustus can then be viewed as a text that has been manipulated by its reader, in this case Mephistopheles, and shaped to that reader’s will. Manipulation of text can also be seen when focusing on the material texts themselves for *Doctor Faustus*. The nearly 700 lines added to the B-text serve to demonstrate the mutability of the playtext. Bevington and Rasmussen propose “that the A-text is set from an authorial manuscript composed of interleaved scenes by two dramatists, while the B-text represents a mix of authorial and theatrical provenances that included extensive revision in 1602 and possibly afterwards.”¹⁶⁰ The mutability of the text can be extrapolated further to how readers will shape and manipulate the text to their own will.

Throughout the play there is a reminder of the connection between the book and the body. When Mephistopheles says, “here’s the scroll / In which thou hast given thy soul to Lucifer,” Faustus reminds him “Ay, and body too” (2.1.135-137, B-text). Faustus does not understand that the devil does not want material stuff. Faustus views the soul, body, and text as inextricably linked—he cannot separate them. The written word is not only connected to the body but is seen as a substitute for it as well. Faustus’ claim that he

¹⁵⁹ Bevington and Rasmussen, 63.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 64.

has saved “whole cities” from the plague also carries with it the notion of Faustus circulating as a body of text: “Are not thy bills hung up as monuments / Whereby whole cities have escaped the plague / And thousand desperate maladies been cured?” (1.1.18-20, B-text). Faustus’s use of the word “bills” suggests that Faustus’ physical body and his textual body—his prescriptions—have been conflated.¹⁶¹ The body and text are one.

Knowledge is depicted as being transformative, suggesting that the human form is mutable. Lucifer presents Faustus with a book and says, “Meanwhile, peruse this book, and / view it thoroughly, and thou shalt turn thyself into what / shape thou wilt” (2.3.168-170, B-text).¹⁶² The use of the word “peruse” suggests that Faustus will “examine [the text] in detail”;¹⁶³ however, the reader is aware that Faustus is incapable of doing so. Faustus believes that he is able to prevent knowledge from going beyond the borders of his body, demonstrating that he does not fully understand (or accept) the hybrid book/body circuit. Once Mephistopheles gives Faustus the magic book we never see Faustus read it or in fact use it: Faustus’s conjuring tricks are achieved “by speaking ordinary language, by setting Mephostophilis to the task, or through no apparent written/spoken agency at all, causing illusions even while sleeping.”¹⁶⁴ Faustus does not use the knowledge he has been given, illustrating a refusal to participate in the hybrid

¹⁶¹ The *OED* notes the word “bills” as “A writing circulated reflecting upon any person; the analogue of the later printed pamphlet or lampoon.” ¹⁶¹ “bills, n.” *OED Online*. June 2014. Oxford University Press. 8 March 2016. <http://oed.com>

¹⁶² The A-text similarly states: “In meantime, take this book. Peruse / it thoroughly, and thou shalt turn thyself into what shape thou wilt.” II.iii.171-173.

¹⁶³ “peruse, v.” *OED Online*. June 2014. Oxford University Press. 11 June 2016. <http://oed.com>

¹⁶⁴ Sarah Wall-Randell, “Doctor Faustus and the Printer’s Devil” *SEL* 48.2 (Spring 2008): 271.

book/body circuit. He cannot escape it, however, but he tries to make himself superior to it.

If the B-text emphasizes the desire to stop up language, Robin's naming of Mephistopheles can be seen as further support of the importance of the spoken word. No book is mentioned in the B-text when Robin calls upon Mephistopheles—he merely comes because he has been called upon. Books are not necessary. The A-text, however, very clearly gives Robin Faustus's book. Robin suggests that Faustus's book has had the power to shape both his and Rafe's lives: "did not I tell thee we were for ever *made* by this Doctor Faustus' book? *Ecce signum!*" (3.2.1-2, A-text, *emph. added*). The language of transformation bookends this conjuring of Mephistopheles; "Ecce signum" (or "Behold the sign") recalls the language of the Mass.¹⁶⁵ While both A and B-texts have Robin and Rafe/Dick transform into an ape and dog by Mephistopheles, placing this physical transformation after having emphasized the necessity of the book illustrates the connection between book and body. Books are transformative.

Robin's conjuring of Mephistopheles parodies that of Faustus in 1.3 of the A-text; however, while Robin clearly holds and reads from a book, I argue that Faustus does not. Faustus asks Cornelius and Valdes to "show [him] some demonstrations magical, / That I may conjure in some lusty grove / And have these joys in full possession" (1.1.152-154, A-text). Faustus receives the following response:

VALDES: Then haste thee to some solitary grove,
And bear wise Bacon's and Albanus' works,
The Hebrew Psalter, and New Testament;
And whatsoever else is requisite
We will inform thee ere our conference cease.
CORNELIUS: Valdes, first let him know the words of art,

¹⁶⁵ Bevington and Rasmussen, Eds., n.167.

And then, all other ceremonies learned,
Faustus may try his cunning *by himself*.
(1.1.155-162, A-text, *emph. added*)

While Bevington and Rasmussen take Valdes' words to suggest "that Faustus enters in 1.3 with a book or books," Cornelius' words suggest that Faustus' lines may in fact be his own.¹⁶⁶

Faustus' conjuring spell at 1.1 can then be likened to an early modern reader who has created their own work based on what they have read. If Faustus is reciting a spell of his own, it suggests that Faustus perhaps believes that he is beyond the need of books, which gives reason to why he never finishes reading the Bible passage—Faustus does not think he needs to because he believes he already knows what knowledge it contains. When Faustus does finally realize, at least partially, his error, he offers up his books as a direct equivalent and replacement for his soul. While he may not comprehend that salvation is still possible to him, he at least realizes that his own knowledge is not superior to that of the books. Robin's parodying of Faustus' conjuring can then be viewed as an *attempt* at reading. Bevington and Rasmussen note that the words Robin reads are "[g]ibberish, partly Latin and Greek."¹⁶⁷ While Robin does conjure up the devil, Mephistopheles deems him unworthy; Faustus, despite his rejection of the hybrid book/body circuit, however, does serve as a model for readers through his creation of a new text, transformed from the knowledge he has gained. Faustus' egotism leads to his willful misreading and is made evident when looking at Thomas Cranmer's instructions on how to read the Bible and avoid error: "Reade it humbly with a meeke and a lowly

¹⁶⁶ Bevington and Rasmussen, n. 125.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 169.

harte, to thintent you may gloryfie God, and not yourselfe, with the knowledge of it: and read it not without dayley praying to God that he would direct your readying to good effecte.”¹⁶⁸ Faustus’ desire to operate outside of the circuit and raise himself to the level of a deity causes his downfall.

As he performs magic tricks, Faustus attempts to restrict knowledge from those he is fooling by preventing them from asking questions, calling instead for silence: “Your Grace demand no questions of the king / But in dumb silence let them come and go” (4.1.95-96, B-text). These lines from the B-text emphasize the need to stop up language, whereas the A-text only expresses Faustus’s frustration (via an aside) at being interrupted by the Knight: “I’ll meet with you anon for interrupting me / so. –Here they are, my gracious lord” (4.1.66-67). Later in Act 4 of the B-text, Faustus charms the Carter, Dick, the horse-courser, Robin, and the Hostess as they are each mid-question (4.7.105-120). This restriction of knowledge provides a few insights into Faustus’s character: he believes he is keeping the knowledge of his books to himself. However, this is a mistaken notion as Robin is in fact able to conjure up the Devil using one of Faustus’s books (3.3.32-3, A-text). Faustus’ denial of the hybrid body leads to many errors.

The depiction of body and text being intertwined is spread throughout the entirety of the play through the numerous references and parodies of the Eucharist—the ultimate example of the word becoming flesh. Marjorie Garber proposes that we read St. Thomas’s compositions for Corpus Christi day as a subtext for the play: “The festival’s magnificent hymns explicitly acknowledge an analogy between the transforming power of language (the word and the Word) and the transubstantiation of bread and wine into

¹⁶⁸ Thomas Cranmer, *Certaine sermons appointed by the Queenes Maiestie* (London, 1574). A6r.

flesh and blood.”¹⁶⁹ The transforming power of reading enables two entities to change and transform each other. As Cornelius and Valdes “[c]ome show [Faustus] some demonstrations magical,” they dine on meat together; a few lines later Wagner’s “wine, if it could speak, [it] would inform” the two scholars of their location (1.1.144, 157; 1.2.26-27, B-text). Perhaps the most explicit example of this type of Eucharistic parody in the play occurs when Faustus snatches the meat and wine from the Pope, preventing him from taking part in the meal and causing him to say

My wine gone, too? Ye lubbers, look about
And find the man that doth this villainy,
Or by our sanctitude you all shall die!
I pray, my lords, have patience at this troublesome banquet.
(3.2.75-78, B-text)

As Faustus’s tricks increase in their banality, the audience is given another parody or mockery of the Mass when the Duchess of Vanholt declares that she would request “no better meat than a dish of / ripe grapes” (4.6.17-18, B-text). The consumption of the wine and meat at the banquet parallels the ingestion of texts, which become part of the reader’s body.¹⁷⁰

Readers witness Faustus’ purposeful misreading of Jerome’s Bible, which hints at the problems of interpreting the Bible on one’s own and reinforces the conflicts between Catholics and Protestants. When Faustus reads the Bible he reads, “The reward of sin is

¹⁶⁹ Marjorie Garber, “‘Here’s Nothing Writ’: Scribe, Script, and Circumspection in Marlowe’s Plays.” *Theatre Journal* 36.3 (October 1984): 315.

¹⁷⁰ For an earlier example of the depiction of consuming books, see John Capgrave’s fifteenth century *Life of St. Katherine*, whose Prologue contains a dream vision where the author is told to ingest a book: “Yys,” seyde he, “thū mote nede ete this booke -
Thū schalt ellys repente. Ope thi mowth wyde,
Receyve it boldly - it hath no clospe ne hook.
Let it goo down and in thi wombe it hyde;
It schal not greve thee neyther in bak ne syde;
In thi mowth bytter, in thi wombe it wyll be swete,
So was it sumetyme to Ezechyell the prophete.”
John Capgrave, *The Life of St Katherine*. Ed. Karen A. Winstead. (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999). Prologue. 99-105.

death” (1.1.39, B-text), but he does not finish the passage, where the promise of salvation would have been reiterated. Faustus exhibits a confusion of what’s morally good: “These metaphysics of magicians / And necromantic books are heavenly,” and later “A sound magician is a demi-god / Here, tire my brains to get a deity!” (1.1.49-50; 1.1.61-62, B-text). Faustus equates knowledge with power rather than using knowledge for the greater good. This confusion is later reinforced by Valdes who says, “Faustus, these books, thy wit, and our experience / Shall make all nations canonize us” (1.1.113-114, B-text). The misreading of the Bible brings the idolizing of other texts into sharp relief—books are not seen as a source of salvation but rather as a means to become an all-powerful deity. Here books are thought of as a means to *be* worshipped rather than to practice one’s devotion to God and shape oneself into a better person.

Writing and the body are explicitly tied together as Faustus signs the deed with the Devil in his own blood and asks, “But what is this inscription on mine arm?” (2.1.77, B-text). The body becomes a text, and the two become one as the ink comes *from* the body and the words become *part of* the body. Faustus’s final words point to the close relationship between book and body that is seen throughout the play. Faustus’s final plea that he will “burn his books!” (5.2.191, B-text) illustrates his attempt to disassociate himself from his books—“O, would I had never seen Wittenberg, never read a book” (5.2.48-49, B-text). It is his willingness to separate himself from his books that is perhaps a cause for the dismemberment of his body—being willing to “chop” off part of his body (i.e., the book(s)) leads to the further dismemberment and destruction of his body. Faustus believes that the burning of his books would qualify as a substitution for his soul, thereby aligning body and text. Frederick Kiefer remarks on the difficult nature of

separating the work from the body of the author in his discussion of book burning in the sixteenth century: “Burning books is, of course, only a short step from destroying their authors”; The Council of Constance “directed the burning of both Wycliffe’s books and bodily remains in 1415. John Foxe remarks that the Council used cruelty ‘not onelye agaynst the bookes and articles of John Wickliffe, but also in burnying his body and bones.’ Authors whose works were condemned while they were still alive were likely to be burned in effigy.”¹⁷¹ This seems to indicate that one cannot truly be rid of the text/body without getting rid of the other, reinforcing the both/and hybrid aspect of the reader and text. While Faustus hopes that only destroying his books will save his life because the two are so intimately connected, he too must be destroyed because the two form one hybrid body. This desire to rewrite his punishment demonstrates an ignorance of actions affecting both entities through the actions of one.

The connection between the word and the flesh is furthered in the play with the multiple prefigurings of dismembering Faustus. Benvolio, Frederick, and Martino attempt to cut off Faustus’s head, the horse-courser attempts to cut off Faustus’s leg, and Faustus himself allows others to think he has been dismembered and simultaneously fears dismemberment by the devil should he repent.¹⁷² Dismemberment is at first only spoken of:

BENVOLIO: We’ll sell it [Faustus’s beard] to a chimney-sweeper. It will wear out
ten birchen brooms, I warrant you.
FREDERICK: What shall his eyes do?
BENVOLIO: We’ll put out his eyes, and they shall serve for
buttons to his lips to keep his tongue from catching cold.

¹⁷¹ Kiefer, 53,54.

¹⁷² “[T]he devil threatened to tear me in pieces if I named God.” 5.2.76, B-text.

(4.2.60-64, B-text)

Here, sight (allowing one to read a text) attempts to prevent the spoken word (sharing of a text). Like the Cardinal's lines to Julia in *Duchess*, Benvolio's lines connect the various points of bodily reception involved in reading, especially the desire to stop up speech and prevent leaky bodies/texts. Dismemberment is not finally realized until the end of the play when the three scholars go to Faustus's study and see his dismembered body.¹⁷³

When put in relation to St. Thomas's writings for Corpus Christi day, the dismemberment of Faustus shows, as Garber states, a "blasphemous decentering of the Eucharist"; St. Thomas writes that "'He is eaten by his faithful, but not mangled. Nay when this sacrament is broken, in each piece he remains entire.'" ¹⁷⁴ Faustus's dismemberment is a perversion of this sacrament. Although his body is not proffered for consumption via ingestion, it is, however, suggested that his body be redistributed in numerous forms for others' own purposes—his beard would be used as bristles for ten brooms and his eyes used as buttons to stop up speech. In misreading the Bible and rejecting salvation, Faustus loses the possibility of being able to exist as one larger, connected body constituted by reader and text.

Faustus's dismemberment may be viewed as fitting for one who has purposefully misread, resulting in his separation from the one body of the Church. This separation from one body into many parts is exemplified with Faustus's own body: "O, help us, heaven! See, here are Faustus' limbs / All torn asunder by the hand of death" (5.3.6-7).

Toward the beginning of the play, Mephistopheles tells Faustus to "stab thy arm

¹⁷³ While Prospero's manuscript book in *The Tempest* enables him to enact a form of textual prosthesis, extending his power to material objects, the printed book in *Doctor Faustus* fragments the body, here literally tearing it to pieces, warning of the dangers of books if improperly interacted with.

¹⁷⁴ Qtd. Garber, 318.

courageously / And *bind* thy soul that at some certain day / Great Lucifer may claim it as his own” (2.1.49-51, *emph. added, B-text*). This action serves as a book curse—one that Faustus inscribes with and on his own body. Faustus has cursed *himself*: “Curst be the parents that engendered me! / No, Faustus, curse thyself. Curse Lucifer, / That hath deprived thee of the joys of heaven” (5.2.181-183, *B-text*). In a play that repeatedly tries to connect book and body, writing on the body functions as writing on the page. Although this is an oral form of cursing, based on the emphasis of the performative throughout the play,¹⁷⁵ I would argue that Faustus is actually *performing* the anathema that is inscribed upon his body. When Faustus uses his own blood as ink, he thereby inscribes the book curse upon his own body.

Giving the Book a Voice: Early Modern Anathemas

Book curses were enacted to deter theft—to prevent a separation between body and text. Faustus’ dismemberment is a result of the anathema he has performed on his body. The following anathema threatens eternal damnation for anyone who should steal this book:¹⁷⁶

Who lets this book be lost,
Or doth embesell yt,
God’s curse will to his cost,
Give him plagues in hell fytt”¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ Faustus performs the act of reading in 2.1.95: “Then hear me read it.” Later, in Act 3, Faustus tells Mephistopheles that “in this show let me an actor be / That this proud Pope may Faustus’s cunning see.” Mephistopheles also emphasizes performance in his response, letting Faustus know that “any villainy thou canst devise [...] I’ll perform it.” 3.1.76-77; 87-88. Frederick, Martino, and Benvolio, as well as the horse-courser, *play at* dismembering Faustus.

¹⁷⁶ The oldest known surviving book curse exists on the seventh-century B.C.E. clay tablets of King Assurbani-pal, ruler of Babylon, while the earliest surviving Christian example is from the seventh century C.E. and threatens excommunication to those who might steal the text. See Marc Drogin, *Anathema! Medieval Scribes and the History of Book Curses* (Montclair, NJ: Allanheld & Schram, 1983): 52.

¹⁷⁷ This 1623 book curse appears in the church register of Sowe, Warwickshire. Qtd. Drogin, 108.

Anathema's ties to excommunication can be seen explicitly in this popular medieval anathema: "May whoever steals or alienates this book, or mutilates it, be cut off from the body of the church and held as a thing accursed, an object of loathing."¹⁷⁸

Mephistopheles refers to the materials of excommunication when he tells Faustus, "For I / can tell you you'll be cursed with bell, book, and candle" (3.2.91-92, B-text). These materials facilitate a divorcing (or dismemberment) from the body of the Church. Faustus then invokes this curse: "Bell, book, and candle; candle, book, and bell, / Forward and backward, to curse Faustus to hell" (3.2.93-94, B-text). Central to the excommunication curse is the book—no matter the order that bell, book, and candle are listed in over the course of four lines (including a stage direction), the book literally remains central to the curse, highlighting not only the centrality of the Bible but the centrality of Faustus's misreading of the Bible as the cause of his downfall.

Book curses make readily visible how books were expected to act in a reader's stead. The following book curse, written in 1540, gives the book a voice and makes clear that stealing it is worth a human life:

My master's name above you se,
Take heede therefore you steale not mee;
For if you doe, without delay
Your necke...for me shall pay.
Looke doune below and you shal see
The picture of the gallowstree;
Take heede therefore of thys in time,
Lest on this tree you highly clime.
[Drawing of the gallows].¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ Qtd., Drogin, 86.

¹⁷⁹ Qtd., W. J. Hardy, *Book-Plates* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Co., 1893), 123.

While the owner has laid claim to the material form of the text (“My master’s name above you se”), the book curse is voiced by the book and not the owner. Ostensibly, the “voice” of the book should be enough to deter thieves and articulates what the owner cannot. The inscribing of the page by a reader imprints that reader’s being into the text—the two in effect become one. In doing so, readers demonstrate a desire for the book to act for it in their absence.

Although these book curses could not be enforced consistently, they did still hold weight. Marc Drogin makes this clear when noting, “[i]n 1525 in Toulouse, a scholar’s books were burned and the culprits were therefore condemned to hang. In some communities toward the end of the Middle Ages, the penalty for book theft was death. And it was not an idle threat. John Leycestre and his wife Cecilia were hung for stealing a book from Stafford church.”¹⁸⁰ As the previous anathema suggested, stealing (or destroying a book) can result in death for the perpetrator. Faustus’ hopes that his books may satisfy the devil over his soul then does not seem quite as unfounded. Book curses persist for well over a millennia (well into the early modern period); in a copy of Chaucer’s *Troilus* the following curse has been written by an owner: “He that thys Boke rent or stelle / God send hym sekenysse swart of helle.”¹⁸¹ Unlike previously mentioned anathemas, this curse’s punishment is meted out by God; here, the book functions as a middle“man.”

¹⁸⁰ Anathemas in the Middle Ages “were as diverse as the books. While all were inspired by the same heartfelt concern, the details of each curse depended on the particular circumstances and the creativity of the writer. In their own way the anathemas each reveal a bit of the inner-most feelings of the scribe and his ability to express them. For a good curse, like a good quiche, is an art to be savored.” Drogin, 32-33; 63-64.

¹⁸¹ Qtd., Drogin, 74.

Marks of ownership (whether they take the form of book curses or “Edward Graye is *the* trve owener of this boke”¹⁸²) demonstrate the book as part of the reader more than any other form of annotation. Marking the text makes ownership visible to others but more importantly imprints the owner’s body on the page of the book. These marks illustrate the hope that the book speaks and acts in the owner’s absence. Book curses make explicit what other marks only imply—this book belongs to and is part of someone.

This chapter opened by calling attention to the Bible’s proclamation in the first chapter of the book of John that the Word became flesh in order to demonstrate the connection and inseparability of the body and text. So it may be appropriate after discussing how anathemas give books voices to return to the Bible and look at the closing of Revelation, which contains its own book curse:

For I protest vnto euerie man that heareth the wordes of the prophecie of this boke, if any man shal adde vnto these things, God shal adde vnto him the plagues, that are written in this boke. And if any man shal diminish of y^e wordes of y^e booke of this prophecie, God shal take away his parte out of the Boke of life, and out of the holie citie, and *from* those things which are writen in this boke.¹⁸³

Rather than cursing those who might literally steal the book as a traditional anathema would, the book of Revelation condemns those who might *alter* the shape of the text—in effect stealing God’s words from others. Regardless of the manner in which the theft might take place, the resulting action is an excision, a dismemberment, from the communal body of readers/texts. Faustus then suffers for his manipulation of God’s word. Not only does he curse himself by writing on his body but he has desecrated god’s

¹⁸² The annotation appears in the front flyleaves of the *Principal Rules of the Italian Grammar* (1550), which comes from an almanac. It first appears in Latin in an italic hand (“Edouardus Grayus est verus [huius] libri possessor”) and then in English in a secretary hand. Cambridge University Library, Syn6.55.12 (2r).

¹⁸³ *The Bible and Holy Scriptvres Contained in the Olde and Newe Testament* (Geneva, Rovland Hall, 1560). Revelation 22: 18-19.

book—the Bible. Anathemas emphasize the book's potential to enact violence, reinforcing that the act of reading itself is inherently violent in order to aide the assemblage of new "bodies" and develop early modern readers' notions of self.

CHAPTER 4:
THE PLAYBOOK AS COMMONPLACE BOOK: MARKING *HAMLET* & *'TIS*
PITY SHE'S A WHORE

-“I have no more made my book than my book made me”
-Montaigne, *Essays*, 1580

Whereas my previous chapters focused on examining the performance of reading on the stage, this chapter moves into studying the physical printed playtext and its attempt at prescribing particular reading practices. While the plays when performed on the stage try to warn their audiences about dangerous reading practices (dangerous to both body and soul), when considering the “the anatomy of the book” (part of which is the typography of the page), printed playtexts transform into prescriptive reading manuals enabling readers to shape their own identities.¹⁸⁴ In arguing that the printed playtext serves as a memorial reconstruction for performance, I do not mean to align myself with the familiar notion that certain quartos should be considered “good” or “bad” depending on whether they were composed by actors or playgoers who attempted to reconstruct the play. Instead, I contend that the printed playtext provides a textual memory of the performed play. The text serves as an external memory device and provides a shared memory for readers; this shared memory serves as a representation of a performance on stage but also importantly provides the same shared textual memory to a community of

¹⁸⁴ Though this is not to say that the plays do not also portray proper reading practices as well.

readers (regardless of whether all readers would have actually seen these plays). While people watch a play they witness the formation of selves; as they read the playtext they participate in the formation of their own selves.

Both *Hamlet* and *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* contain printed marks for sententiae. While in theory these marks, which take the form of either inverted commas or italics, suggest to the reader what extractions *should* be made, the act of reading is not something that can be controlled. Through the use of commonplace books, readers are able to develop their own texts, fashioning a physical manifestation of their inner selves. This desire to represent oneself textually can also be seen through the use of letters in early modern plays and their typographical representation on the printed page. Letters serve to make the author's absent physical body present textually. In this chapter I argue that the use of italics, normally designated by scholars as simply marking difference when referring to letters or songs instead serves as additional commonplace markers for the reader. The visual highlighting of sententiae through the use of typographical markers signals re-use by the reader and reinforces the extractability of the text.

In producing their own texts, readers create textual representations of themselves, which can then be viewed as textual progeny. Letters can then serve as both textual progeny and facilitate future textual progeny. The family relationships depicted in these two plays, whose characters are depicted as products of their reading, highlight the desire to use human bodies as a means of establishing a textual stemma and function as an affirmative production of self. This desire is perhaps most readily manifested in the literal

textualization of bodies in the form of family trees.¹⁸⁵ These impulses suggest a longing to be able to both influence and to trace influence.

Whereas *Hamlet* uses the idea of textual progeny to emphasize the influence and effect one text/body can have on another, *'Tis Pity* takes familial relationships to illustrate the ability of many bodies to function as one (text) through the depiction of the relationship between Giovanni and Annabella. The play is not as interested in demonstrating that bodies can imprint and pass on knowledge (as *Hamlet* is), but rather in assembling many bodies into one unified whole. This desire to assemble serves as an analogy for how the printed playtext is able to bring together a body of readers and create a shared text/one memory.

The printing of *Hamlet*:

Examining the evolution of the printed marks for sententiae in *Hamlet* up through Q5 (1637)¹⁸⁶ can bring further insight into a projection for how readers' tastes evolved.¹⁸⁷ The contentious history of the printing of *Hamlet* has created an environment where many twentieth-century critics adhere to the idea that Q1 (1603) serves as evidence of

¹⁸⁵ British Library MS Add. 53725 contains the commonplace book of Sir James Whitelocke who writes that he "entend[s] to set downe memori-Als for my posterity of thinges most properly concerning my self & my familie," which is then followed by a verbal family history.

¹⁸⁶ The dates for each are as follows: Q1 (1603), Q2 (1604, variant 1605), Q3 (1611), Q4 [1622], F1 (1623), F2 (1632), and Q5 (1637).

¹⁸⁷ Lesser and Stallybrass are quick to point out that they disagree with Lukas Erne's assertion that lines marked as sententiae show "an emergent sense of novelistic character [...] convey[ing] a strong sense of interiority and psychological complexity." Instead, Lesser and Stallybrass claim that "lines marked as sententiae are deliberately designed to be extracted from the dramatic situation and from the character who speaks them." Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass, "The First Literary Hamlet and the Commonplacing of Professional Plays" *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59.4 (Winter 2008): 415.

memorial reconstruction and is thus a “bad” quarto.¹⁸⁸ Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass’s article “The First Literary *Hamlet* and the Commonplacing of Professional Plays” pushes against this notion by examining the printed commonplace markers present in the quarto in order to assert that “Q1 *Hamlet* [w]as a play for reading and even for study.”¹⁸⁹ Although Stallybrass and Lesser investigate the use of commonplace markers to legitimize the literariness of Q1, they are still focused on defending against those who might still suggest memorial reconstruction as an explanation for the variants. Regardless of whether the text may be considered corrupt by scholars searching for the “true” *Hamlet*, I am purely interested in the use of commonplace markers across editions in the early seventeenth century. Examining the evolution of commonplace markers throughout editions of *Hamlet* makes apparent the reader’s development. Subsequent editions make evident the reader’s intervention in the initially published text; readers are able to reshape the text and make it their own, using the playtext as an active agent in the formation of that reader’s identity.

Corambis, the Polonius figure in Q1, represents a sort of living commonplace book. His name is one associated with tired quotation:

Crambe bis posita mors est.

¹⁸⁸ See for example George Duthie’s *The ‘Bad’ Quarto of ‘Hamlet’: A Critical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1941), which explains Q1 through memorial reconstruction. Harold Jenkins, editor of the Arden Shakespeare, also supports memorial reconstruction as an explanation for Q1 and claims that “objectors to ‘memorial reconstruction’ as the explanation of the bad quartos have sometimes complained that there is no contemporary ‘testimony’ to such a practice; but if you come upon a mutilated corpse you don’t deny a murder because nobody has reported one.” Harold Jenkins, ed. *Hamlet* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 1982), 19-20.

¹⁸⁹ Lesser and Stallybrass, 378. The second edition of *Gorboduc* (1570) is the earliest play Lesser and Stallybrass have found with commonplace markers. They note that between 1600 – 1613, *Hamlet* and *Troilus and Cressida* were the only two first editions of Shakespeare’s works to receive printed commonplace markers, 417. See also the table on 416 in “The First Literary *Hamlet*.” Ann Moss argues that the first book to contain printed commonplace markers is the 1506 edition of Seneca’s tragedies. See *In Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 211 n.28.

Cabbage twice served/cooked is death.¹⁹⁰

Corambis' "wise" maxims are here to be viewed as a recycling or regurgitation of words. Doris Falk argues that the lines marked for sententiae in Corambis' opening speech "inform us immediately that these lines are proverbial, in the public domain, and not necessarily original with Shakespeare."¹⁹¹ I would refocus the point to note that the printed commonplace markers serve as directions for reading—pointing out to the reader what *should* be considered proverbial. The high incidence of commonplacing Polonius' lines throughout the subsequent centuries has resulted in them being so divorced from their context to be quoted as bits of wisdom to be shared. Those more familiar with the text may cringe at Polonius's advice being dispensed as wise maxims today, on t-shirts and bumper stickers, and quoted sans irony in movies and TV shows.¹⁹² That some of the most quoted lines from *Hamlet* are those spoken by Polonius perhaps speaks to his enduring quality as a figure of commonplaces (no matter how "tired" they may be), as well as the inability to entirely control the reader; readers select what they want in order to reflect their own individual identity formation.

The characters in *Hamlet* function as texts, serving to illuminate the act of reading, and in turn commonplacing, for early modern readers. The desire with which scholars

¹⁹⁰ Doris Falk, "Proverbs and the Polonius Destiny" *Shakespeare Quarterly* (Winter 1967): 24. Falk also notes that Richard Taverner writes about this in *Proverbs or Adages...of Erasmus*, as well as Sir Thomas Browne in *The Garden of Cyrus*, and Shakespeare who again refers to this in *Love's Labor's Lost* at 4.2.19-20: "Twice-sod simplicity bis coctus." For the debate concerning Polonius' rhetorical stature see Josephine Waters Bennet, "Characterization in Polonius' Advice to Laertes," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 4 (1953): 3-9; O.B. Davis, "A Note on the Function of Polonius' Advice," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 7 (1956): 275-276; G.K. Hunter, "Isocrates' Precepts and Polonius' Character," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 8 (1957): 501-506; and Elkin Calhoun Wilson, "Polonius in the Round," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 9 (1958): 83-85.

¹⁹¹ Falk, 23. Scott Huelin suggests that Polonius has opened a commonplace book to read from a section titled "advice to youth traveling abroad." Scott Huelin, "Reading, Writing, and Memory in 'Hamlet'" *Religion and Literature* 37.1 (Spring 2005): 30.

¹⁹² Phrases that remain popular today include "the apparel oft proclaims the man," "neither a borrower or a lender be," and "brevity is the soul of wit." Movies and TV shows that use "to thine own self be true" include, among others, *Clueless* (1995), *The Bells of St. Mary's* (1946), *The Last Days of Disco* (1998), *Star Trek: The Next Generation* (1987), and *Mozart in the Jungle* (2014).

have sought to reconstruct a textual stemma for *Hamlet* is perhaps ironic in a text filled with characters, who can be viewed as textual stemma themselves. Polonius's attempts at imprinting his sententious phrases upon both of his children make evident the textual links between Polonius, Laertes, and Ophelia. This movement, or passing on of knowledge, can be seen via the lines marked for sententiae in Q2 (1604), which shift from Corambis/Polonius (in Q1) to Laertes.¹⁹³ Lines marked in Q2 remain the same through Q4, change in F1, and then return back to the initial Q2 format in Q5 (1637). Doris Falk argues that "Laertes has not only his father's sententiousness but also his penchant for rhetoric and self-dramatization, and of course for 'unproportion'd thought' and its precipitate act [...:] Laertes, like his dad, does not follow his own proverbial wisdom."¹⁹⁴ While Falk recognizes the similarities between father and son, I contend that by reminding ourselves that these playtexts were books and not merely some deficient textual attempt at trying to capture performance, the similarities evident between father and children illustrate the ability of the parent text to influence its offspring and participate in the formation of identity. Both Polonius and Laertes are more concerned with imprinting upon others; their actions suggest a desire to pass on their knowledge and continue the circulation of the bits of texts with which they are familiar.

Although Laertes does reflect the influence of his father, he is able to illustrate the generative act of reading by shaping the maxims for his own purposes. Laertes' similar advice to Ophelia continues the circulation of these body/texts:

The chariest maid is prodigal enough
 [...]
 Virtue itself scapes not calumnious strokes.

¹⁹³ The Queen also receives marked lines.

¹⁹⁴ Falk, 31.

The canker galls the infants of the spring (1.3.36, 38-9)¹⁹⁵
His advice to Ophelia is in fact doubled from Q1 to Q2, and includes one of the lines that are marked for sententiae in Q2 (1.3.39). The doubling of lines mimics the generative act of reading, suggesting Laertes has taken parts of his father's text and created his own. Laertes' and Polonius' attempts at imparting their "proverbial wisdom," however, are resisted by Ophelia.

Ophelia demonstrates her own textual agency when she cedes control to the wisdom imparted to her by Laertes. When Laertes bids Ophelia to "remember well / What I have said to you" (1.3.84), she replies, "'Tis in my memory lock'd, / And you yourself shall keep the key of it" (1.3.85-86). Ophelia may have listened to the advice her father and brother try to impress upon her, but she prevents her own access to those memories and that particular interior copybook. In ceding control of her inner text to Laertes, Ophelia effectively severs herself from the types of texts her father and brother have espoused and attempts to create a new branch of the family textual tree. Her rejection of those texts demonstrates what types of texts she does not want to use in the formation of her own identity, which is further evidenced by her wholly different source material: ballads (whose lines are marked as sententiae in F1). She still, however, retains similarities to her parent (text) in that both she and Polonius/Corambis quote extremely familiar texts—whether they take the form of "tired" commonplaces or popular ballads.

Pairing Polonius, Laertes, and Ophelia with Hamlet illustrates the cycle of reading. Polonius, Laertes, and Ophelia are characterized as dispensers of texts—they try to share

¹⁹⁵ Unless otherwise noted, lines quoted from *Hamlet* refer to the Arden Shakespeare *Hamlet*. William Shakespeare *Hamlet* Ed. Harold Jenkins (London: Arden Shakespeare, 1982).

their texts with others. For the most part, however, Hamlet is a receiver of texts,¹⁹⁶ perhaps best exemplified by his considering his memory as a writing table¹⁹⁷:

Yea, from the table of my memory
I'll wipe away all trivial fond records,
All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past
That youth and observation copied there. (1.5.98-101)

Hamlet's inner text is impressionable and impermanent. However, what ties these four together is that writing takes place inside the body, whether it is written on the heart or in the mind. Placing the text within the body reinforces the importance of reading in fashioning identity: texts shape and form the body. Writing is also encompassed by the body; the texts of the mind/heart can then be considered as being bound by the skin of the human (reader's) body.¹⁹⁸ The impermanency and erasability of wax tablets suggests numerous texts entering with the need to make room for more. Hamlet cannot even hold to his promise to "wipe away all trivial fond records" for more than a few lines before he begins to set down another maxim in his tablets:¹⁹⁹

My tables. Meet it is I set it down
That one may smile and smile, and be a villain—
At least I am sure it may be so in Denmark
So, uncle, there you are. Now to my word. (1.5.107-109)

¹⁹⁶ While Hamlet does "share" the text of *The Mousetrap*, I would argue that it is for a self-serving purpose—to entrap his uncle.

¹⁹⁷ For more on Hamlet's writing tables see Peter Stallybrass, Roger Chartier, J. Franklin Mowery, and Heather Wolfe, "Hamlet's Tables and the Technologies of Writing in Renaissance England," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55 (2004): 379-419.

¹⁹⁸ In the world of *Hamlet* though, the text within the body is located in the mind rather than what has normally been typical on the early modern stage—the heart. Jenkins notes that "the metaphor is as old as Aeschylus. Cf. Sidney, *Apology*, 'Let Aeneas be worn in the table of your memory, and the injunction of Proverbs (iii.3; vii.3) for a 'son' to write 'commandments' 'upon the table of thine heart,'" 221n.98

¹⁹⁹ Alan Stewart also notes the unreliability of Hamlet's word and continues by arguing that "For Hamlet, tables are the repository of the catchphrases of second-rate clowns—and yet he himself pulls out tables to take down his maxim. If not wholly comic, Hamlet's resort to his tables at the very least betrays his superficiality—his reliance on surfaces in a very particular sense. In moving from the 'table of my memory' to his 'tables' [...] Shakespeare literalizes an absolutely commonplace figure." *Shakespeare's Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 285.

It would seem that words do not stick with Hamlet; however, in that display of being able to erase, amend, and add at will to his inner copytext, he exemplifies the act of reading and commonplacing.

“Pray you mark”: Readers’ Annotations

The following section examines readers’ marks for sententiae and places them in conversation with the printed marks of sententiae. *Hamlet* contains the highest use of the word “mark” in any of Shakespeare’s plays (15 in total, with the highest rate attributed to Polonius [5]) (see Table 4.1). The repeated instances of “mark” remind the reader to pay attention to the text and annotate the text. The repetition of this call to write extends to directives on reading during this period, as is seen in John Brinsley’s *Ludus Literarius* (London, 1612):²⁰⁰ “For, the second reading of any booke dooth much incourage children, because it seemeth to bee so easie then, and also it doth imprint it the more.”²⁰¹ Brinsley continues by noting:

Insteede of setting of copies and to saue the endlesse toyle, let euery one haue a little copie booke fastened to the top of his writing booke, with a strong thread of a spanne long, or thereabout; thar always when he writeth, he may lay his copie booke close before him, and that the side of the copie, may almost touch the line where he writeth, that his eye may be vpon the copie, and vpon his letter both together. And also to the end that euer when he hath done writing, he may put his copie booke into his writing booke againe; so that the copie may neuer bee out of the waie, nor the Scholar write without it. The fittest volume for their writing a booke is, to haue them in quarto.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ *Ludus Literarius* takes the form of a dialogue between student and teacher and also contains printed manicules and flourishes. John Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (London, 1612).

²⁰¹ Brinsley, D1r.

²⁰² Brinsley, E3v.

Brinsley’s exhortation to readers explicitly ties together the act of reading *as* writing and participation in the transformation of readers—one where a text outside of the “original” is always ideally connected. The copybook allows the original text to become part of the reader, while it also simultaneously reinforces writing as unstable and able to be rewritten. An ideal reading setup involves an additional text; the “strong thread of a spanne long, or thereabout” that Brinsley writes of can then serve as the thread that connects text and body. Commonplace books can serve as this text connected by a “strong thread”—extending the margin of the printed text beyond the page (both to the body of the reader of the text and to the pages of the commonplace book).

Table 4.1 Frequency of the Word “Mark” in *Hamlet*

<i>Character</i>	<i>Rate of the use of the word “mark”</i>
Polonius	5
Ophelia	3
Hamlet	3
Ghost	1
Player King	1
Bernardo	1
First Clown	1

The British Library’s copy of Q1 (BL C.34.k.1) provides evidence of a reader who has given Ophelia the third highest number of lines marked for extraction (10 total), preceded by Hamlet (14) and Polonius (13) (see Table 4.2). The penultimate line of

Ophelia's that the Q1 reader has marked contains the words "marke now;" this phrase can be viewed as an instruction for readers, which this particular Q1 reader has followed, to mark in their own texts for their commonplace books:

To morrow is saint Valentines day,²⁰³
 All in the morning betime,
 And a maide at your window,
 To be your Valentine:
 The young man rose, and dan'd his clothes,
 And dupt the chamber doore,
 Let in the maide, that out a maide
 Neuer departed more.
 Nay I pray marke now,
 By gisse, and by saint Charitie. (H2r)²⁰⁴

I argue that this call to "marke now" is also influential on the printers of F1, as the majority of these lines selected by the reader of Q1 are then printed in italics for the reader in F1. Although the use of italics for parts of Ophelia's speech in F1 (33 lines total) is often thought to be employed solely to denote singing in *Hamlet*, I contend that those italicized lines instead function as a visual aide to reinforce Ophelia's repeated call to "marke now," reinforcing that these lines be considered as sententiae for the reader.²⁰⁵

Table 4.2 A Reader's Sententiae Marks in Q1 (BL C.34.k.1)

<i>Character</i>	<i>Number of lines marked by reader</i>
Hamlet	14
Polonius	13
Ophelia	10

²⁰³ At the end of this line Q2 notes "Song" in italics.

²⁰⁴ Text cited from Q1.

²⁰⁵ Ophelia additionally calls for marking at 4.5.28 ("Nay, pray you mark") and 4.5.35 ("Pray you mark").

Guildestern	4
King	3
Dutchesse	2
Horatio	2
Marcellus	1

Ophelia brings the readers of the playtext into a communal act of reading by quoting from a “common” text—songs that much of the audience would have been familiar with. The “snatches of old lauds” (4.7.176), therefore, reinforce the idea that the playbook itself should be viewed as a commonplace book.²⁰⁶ Ophelia functions as a reminder of the act of reading,²⁰⁷ her use of song amplifies the call to commonplace, as music lends itself well to extraction because it can already be considered extraneous to the text of the play.²⁰⁸ These seemingly extraneous parts of the play are in fact important in delineating the act of reading because they serve to show the reader how Ophelia has used texts she has encountered in her everyday world to make better sense of herself. Her songs serve as examples of extracts and commonplaces. In performing the act of commonplacing, Ophelia’s lines in the playtext become lessons in how to read and

²⁰⁶ Caralyn Bialo suggests that Ophelia’s songs be viewed as an engagement with popular culture and states that “Globe spectators were likely familiar with Ophelia’s ‘snatches of old tunes’ and able to hum along in their place.” “Popular Performance, the Broadside Ballad, and Ophelia’s Madness” *SEL* 53.2 (Spring 2013): 298.

²⁰⁷ Although he discusses the performance of the play and not the playtext, Scott Trudell also calls attention to Ophelia’s “paratextual” function in the play: “Theatrical music thus renders it difficult or pointless to distinguish between what is represented and what is producing or performing that representation [...] Because it underscores the thresholds and breaking points of a play’s fictional world, music offers the opportunity for metatheatrical reflection and self-consciousness about the interpretive position of the audience.” Scott Trudell, “The Mediation of Poesie: Ophelia’s Orphic Song” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 63.1 (Spring 2012): 53–4.

²⁰⁸ Songs can in fact move around from play to play as can be seen in Middleton’s *The Witch* and Shakespeare’s *Macbeth*. See also Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

extract for one's own use. Ophelia's visually marked lines lay the foundation for re-writing and re-using on the part of the reader.

The importance of commonplacing (or extraction) is further emphasized by Ophelia distributing flowers (florilegia) to others. The collection of flowers recalls the florilegium, or collection of texts. In distributing these "texts" Ophelia also tries to pass on a part of herself. Laertes recognizes the textual connection to flowers when he calls Ophelia "[a] document in madness" (4.5.176) immediately after she has begun to distribute her flowers, which itself is preceded a few lines prior to Ophelia's first marked lines in F1. When Gertrude reports Ophelia's death, Ophelia's function as commonplacer is reinforced, as the reader is again given a listing of flowers: "Therewith fantastic garlands did she make / of crow-flowers, nettles, daisies, and long purples" (4.7.167-8).²⁰⁹ Ophelia is encircled by flowers/florilegia—emphasizing the text/body connection. Ophelia leaves the remaining texts readily visible in her death for others to read; in fashioning them as "fantastic garlands," Ophelia signals to her readers the desire to create new, refashioned texts. As stated earlier, though Ophelia uses different source texts from her father and brother, she does, however, also try to share and pass on these texts with others. Her earlier distribution of flowers can then be viewed as the dismemberment of her own inner copybook. Like Hamlet, who at the end of the play has no one left to pass his text (or "story") onto save Horatio, Ophelia must distribute her copytext to those that she can in hopes of continuing the circulation of text.

²⁰⁹ Scott Trudell notes that Ophelia's distribution of flowers also recalls the literary tradition of such works as Gascoigne's *A Hundredth Sundrie Flowres* and Dryden's *Of Dramatic Poesie*, 62.

Ophelia's influence on readers can perhaps be seen by turning briefly to the famous early modern reader Gabriel Harvey, who makes the earliest reference to *Hamlet* in his own copy of *The Works of...Chaucer* (published in 1598):

The younger sort takes much delight in Shakespeares Venus, & Adonis:
but his Lucrece, & his tragedie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke, haue it in
them, to please the Wiser sort.²¹⁰

While Lesser and Stallybrass note that “Astonishingly, Harvey [...] singled out *Hamlet* as the only play among ‘owre best English’ to be fitting company for the new vernacular ‘classics,’” and add that “In pairing *Hamlet* and *Lucrece*, Harvey brought together the only two texts by Shakespeare that were printed with commonplace markers prior to 1609,”²¹¹ Harvey's note suggests something that has previously not been argued: that it recalls Hamlet's commentary to the players on the tragedy of Dido and Aeneas and should be viewed as an extraction or commonplace from *Hamlet* reworked for his own purposes:

I heard thee speak me a speech once, but it was
Never acted, or if it was, not above once, --for the
Play, I remember, pleased not the million, ‘twas
Caviar to the general. But it was, as I received it—
And others, whose judgments in such matters cried in
The top of mine—an excellent play. (2.2.430-435)

Harvey reworks Hamlet's lines (seen above) not only to make a point about the play (and *Lucrece*) but also to make evident the creative power of his reading. In pairing the two texts that have printed commonplace markers, Harvey demonstrates the influence of the text on the reader, and in not following the prescribed lines pre-marked for

²¹⁰ BL Add MS 42518

²¹¹ Lesser and Stallybrass, 394.

commonplacing, Harvey is able to affect and rework the text through his revision of these lines in Act 2.

Annotating Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*

The reader's annotations in the Houghton's copy of the 1633 edition of Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* further exemplify pre-marked commonplace markers as a call to write rather than as items to follow as directives to explicitly commonplace those particular lines. This edition uses italics to denote lines for extraction. While it was not out of the ordinary to place the lines of the final couplet of a play in italics, *'Tis Pity* instead puts the Cardinal's last few words, which also happen to be the play's title, in italics. In doing so, the reader is thus reminded once again at the end of the play that this playtext is worthy of extraction.

The printed italics for commonplacing (18 lines total) in *'Tis Pity* give the highest number of lines marked for sententiae to Soranzo and Annabella (6 lines each), and in turn bind the two characters together (see Table 4.3). While nearly the same number of lines are marked by the reader, the Houghton copy's reader flips on its head which characters are deemed worthy of commonplacing (see Table 4.3): Giovanni, who received the least amount of lines in the pre-marked lines, here receives the most marked lines.

Table 4.3 Pre-marked Sententiae vs. Reader's Marks in the 1633 edition of *'Tis Pity*

<i>1633 pre-marked sententiae</i>	<i>Houghton reader's marked sententiae</i>
Soranzo—6 lines	Giovanni—7 lines

Annabella—6 lines	Vasquez—3 lines
Vasquez—5 lines	Poggio—2 lines
Giovanni—1 line	Florio—2 lines
	Soranzo—2 lines

Although the separation between the printed marks and the reader's marks could perhaps be explained away by suggesting that the reader is merely adding to the text's suggestions, the striking difference between the number of lines marked when sorted by character could instead show a complete rejection of what the printed text suggests as worthy of commonplacing.²¹² This is also reflected when sorting the marks by topic. While both the printed text and the reader of the Houghton's copy seem to share interest in lines pertaining to beauty, the similarities in choices of topics for commonplacing appears to stop there. Printed sententiae for this play could fall under the categories of beauty, lust, cuckoldry, and revenge, while this specific reader's interests seems to lie with beauty, right and wrong, courtesy, and memory.

“Each to other bound”: Two bodies as one in Ford's *'Tis Pity*

Giovanni's imagined idea of how he and his sister are one not only uses book imagery but also represents the relationship between book and owner. The play opens with Giovanni recounting the emptying of his soul to the Friar:

Gentle father,
To you I have unclasp'd my burdened soul,
Emptied the storehouse of my thoughts and heart,
Made myself poor of secrets, have not left
Another word untold, which hath not spoke
All what I ever durst or think or know. (1.1.12-17)

²¹² There are, however, plenty of cases of readers also marking pre-marked lines.

In “unclasp[ing]” his soul, Giovanni suggests that his inner copybook, here perhaps imagined with his soul serving as a binding, is “clasp’d” to the “storehouse” or copybook of his heart. Where Hamlet imagines his copybook resides in “the table of [his] memory [...] within the book and volume of [his] brain” (1.5.98, 103) and promises to prioritize the memory of his father and “wipe away all trivial fond records” (1.5.99), this passage in *‘Tis Pity* while ostensibly similar, instead depicts a character promising to transfer texts to another person, here the Friar. Giovanni recognizes the ability of texts to transfer to bodies and the body’s ability to serve as a text. In someone “so devoted to his book” as Florio claims his son to be, the use of book terms for imagined depictions of relationships takes on greater significance.²¹³ In attempting to justify his actions, Giovanni argues that their two separate bodies (his and Annabella’s) are in fact

each to other *bound*
 so much the more by nature, by the links
 Of blood, of reason—nay, if you will have’t,
 Even of religion—to be ever one,
 One soul, one flesh, one love, one heart, one all? (1.1.30-34, *emph. added*)

While Giovanni’s speech to the Friar implies a purging of information, his speech here to Annabella, as is implied by the use of “bound,” suggests a uniting to form one text. It is easy for Giovanni to imagine separate bodies in fact representing one joined—or bound—entity, which is similar to how I see the relationship between book and early modern reader existed.²¹⁴ The generative act of reading produces a new (singular) hybrid book/body. By the end of 1.2 Giovanni reiterates to Annabella the textual nature of his body: “Rip up my bosom, there thou shalt behold / A heart, in which is writ, the truth I

²¹³ Florio also later tells his son to “forsake / This over-bookish humour.” (2.6.127-8).

²¹⁴ In Act 2, Annabella demonstrates the ability for a text (if we view the heart as a text as it is often described) to have on the body: “O, how these stol’n contents / Would print a modest crimson on my cheeks / Had any but my heart’s delight prevail’d” (2.1.6-8).

speak” (222-223). This is preceded by his “offer[ing] his dagger to her” (219.5),²¹⁵ underscoring the inherent violent connection between text and writing, and recalling the need for a penknife when writing.²¹⁶ The two are then presented as mirror images, or perhaps to continue the book imagery, opposite sides of a book’s binding, kneeling before each other and echoing the same words:

even by our mother’s dust, I charge you,
Do not betray me to your mirth or hate;
Love me or kill me. (1.2.266-268 and 269-271)

The bookend imagery is furthered by Annabella and Giovanni beginning and ending the above quotation with the word “brother” and “sister” respectively.

While Act 5 may seem to contradict the idea that reading binds book and body into one hybrid body with its use of the separation of the hand and the body’s responsibility for the hand’s actions, this scene instead recalls for readers the handwriting manuals of the period. The effect is one where writing (and thereby producing new text) is connected to the bound, unified body, as discussed above, of Giovanni and Annabella. The violence of words—both written and oral/aural—is made evident through Giovanni’s actions to Annabella.²¹⁷ After Giovanni has stabbed Annabella he tells her, “Thus die, and die by me *and* by my hand” (5.5.86, *emph. added*). She replies, “O brother, by your hand!” (5.5.88). Both characters separate out the hand as something that acts of its own accord, enabling Giovanni’s hand to be viewed as a sort of writing manual hand figure come to life, or perhaps to better connect it textually, Giovanni’s “dismembered” hand

²¹⁵ Unless otherwise stated all quotations from *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology* Ed. David Bevington (New York: WW Norton & Company, 2002).

²¹⁶ Peter Bales dedicates the first chapter of his work, *The writing schoolemaster*, to choosing one’s penknife (“For the choyce of your penknife”). See *The writing schoolemaster* (London, 1590).

²¹⁷ Annabella speaks to the power and suggested physical repercussions words are capable of when talking to Soranzo: “These words wound deeper than your sword could do” (4.3.132).

serves as a manicule, highlighting the textual nature of Giovanni and Annabella.

Giovanni's use of a dagger to kill Annabella further connects Giovanni and Annabella as a hybrid book/body as it recalls the violence associated with early modern writing manuals (which I discussed in my introduction); as stated at the beginning of this project, Jonathan Goldberg argues that "writing begins with a tool of violence, the knife or razor, and it produces the point of the quill as another cutting edge."²¹⁸ Goldberg's claim articulates the violence involved in writing, which I extend to reading; as I argue, writing functions as reading, but writing also hints at the cyclical, or circuit-like nature of the act of reading, an act that creates a new entity.

The progression of and increase in the number of annotations present in the Folger's copy of *A Booke Containing Divers Sortes of Hands* (1602), which contains annotations from multiple owners, emphasizes the idea that readers become writers.²¹⁹ At first there is a straight mimicking of what is contained within the text itself; moving further into the text, there begin to be, if not wholly created texts, at least new texts that come from elsewhere (outside of this printed form). Reading is not a passive activity; instead, it encourages new forms of writing for readers, which contributes to making the book one's own and engaging in identity formation. Annotations go beyond letterform practice and also include mimicry of images contained within the woodcuts, as well as drafts of letters (William writes to his "[d]ear Brother" in order "to inquire after [his] health"), prayers, and poetry.²²⁰ The following poem contained within the Folger's copy further suggests the communal nature of reading and knowledge gathering:

²¹⁸ Jonathan Goldberg, *Writing Matter*, 74.

²¹⁹ The names Ed King (on verso of the title page), William Caldecott (19v) and Thomas Caldecott (44v) appear within the text. Thomas claims the book as his own: "Thomas Caldecott / Hes Book God."

²²⁰ 19v

Si cupias scientiam
Quam quod nihil
Est melius consule
tuorum amicorum.²²¹

[If you desire knowledge,
then there is nothing better than the advice of your friends.²²²]

The Library of Congress's copy of this handwriting manual (1581) also contains annotations from multiple owners. The text is filled with numerous ink splotches, as well as pen trials and drawings/doodles. The evidence of multiple readers serves to visibly illustrate the creation of one hybrid being from many bodies. Each reader refashions and re-forms the text, taking into account and being influenced by previous readers' interactions with the text.

The reader as critic on stage: Hamlet & Polonius and Soranzo

The repeated highlighting of the act of reading in *Hamlet* demonstrates by its characters serving as exemplars for readers that these figures can then serve as models for fashioning their identities through their own reading. The ability of the printed page to visibly reproduce the variability of performance and therefore the vast options for interpretation is perhaps nowhere more evident than when comparing Act 2, scene 2 of Q2 and F1. The two editions of the scene where Polonius reads Hamlet's letter to Ophelia to Gertrude and Claudius provide different possibilities for the scene's interpretation based on the typography of the page.

²²¹ 20v.

²²² Many thanks to Lydia Yaitsky Kertz for her help and reviewing of this translation.

In F1 Polonius is presented as critic as he remarks on his dislike of Hamlet's use of "beautified": "To the celestial and my soul's idol, the most / beautified Ophelia— That's an ill phrase, a vile phrase, / 'beautified' is a vile phrase" (2.2.109-11). His focus on one single word illustrates his concern with trivial matters and perhaps also demonstrates that Polonius does not deem this worth commonplacing but could also signal what he deems worth commonplacing and criticizing. A few lines prior to his reading of Hamlet's letter he tells the King and Queen to "mark," or take note of, what he is about to relate (2.2.107). Polonius, a figure explicitly aligned with commonplaces, in this scene stands for the cyclical nature of reading—from written (whether manuscript or print) to oral/aural using the act of interpretation to return to and create a new textual form. By ending his relation of Ophelia and Hamlet's relationship with an emphasis on the aural—"All given to mine ear" (2.2.127)—Polonius emphasizes that it is the reader's ultimate authority that dictates what is important.

In Q2, however, the entirety of the above-quoted lines is made out to be part of Hamlet's letter. In this edition it is Hamlet who is the critic, critiquing his composition as he writes. Polonius functions as our eyes, reading what is before him without adding in interpretation (operating as I argued in my introduction how de Bury would want him to: as a transcriptionist). Seth Lerer argues that the typographical differences presented in the early editions of *Hamlet* "enables, in each version of the play, the reader to take on a different voice. It blurs the lines between the lover and commentator, the critic and the courtier. Its typographical insecurities reflect the fluid interplay among these voices."²²³ Retracing the movement from Q2 to F1 illustrates a movement toward interpretation by the reader, represented in F1 by Polonius. The words presented on the page in Q2 are re-

²²³ Seth Lerer, "Hamlet's Poem to Ophelia and the Theater of the Letter," *ELH* 81.3 (Fall 2014): 853.

membered by Polonius who becomes critic. It is the reader who selects what s/he considers worth their attention, demonstrated by my examination of copies of *Hamlet* and *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* earlier in this chapter, and interprets in order to generate a new text. This is not merely limited to readers who read along the page but also those aural communities who listen to texts—which brings us, fittingly, back to the stage and its audiences. In this scene, a new physical book manifests about 40 lines later when Hamlet enters “*reading on a book*” (2.2.168.5).

References to the oral/aural in plays serve to remind the reader of the performance, and in their presence in textual form highlight plays as reading texts. In performing an oral/aural reading, Soranzo therefore also provides a verbal form of annotation as he reads Jacopo Sannazaro’s (c.1456 – 1530) writing. Soranzo’s assessment of Sannazaro’s writing is that he “*liest*” (2.2.5); Soranzo then rewrites/revises what he has read:

*‘Love’s measure is extreme, the comfort pain,
the life unrest, and the reward disdain.’*
What’s here? Look’t o’er again. ‘Tis so, so writes
This smooth, licentious poet in his rhymes.
[...]
To work then, happy muse, and contradict
What Sannazar hath in his envy writ.
‘Love’s measure is the mean, sweet his annoys,
His pleasure’s life, and his reward all joys. (2.2.1-4, 8-11)

The use of italics at this opening ideally serves to grab the reader’s attention and calls to mark the text (though it does not work on this specific reader of the Houghton’s 1633 copy of *'Tis Pity*). The stage direction, which dictates that Soranzo enters “his study reading a Booke” is followed by two more lines of italics as Soranzo reads lines from his book. By pairing the stage direction with the italicized lines spoken by Soranzo as he reads, what is already thought of as separate to the text of the play (stage directions) is

used to reinforce the extractability of the lines of text Soranzo reads. The italics here especially serve to underscore the ease with which these lines can become extracted from the text of the play, which is then further reinforced by Soranzo's call to "Look't o'er again." In the space of 11 lines the reader has witnessed the cycle of reading: from extraction (or evidence of discontinuous reading) by only being provided a snippet from Sorranzaro, to a reminder to reread ("Look't o'er again"), recalling Brinsley's claim that rereading imprints the reader more, to the use and manipulation of text for the reader's own purpose, as seen at the end of the above excerpt. Through this cycle the reader is able to participate in his/her own identity formation. Brinsley's instructions to always have a copybook nearby one's writing book allow one to imagine (as early modern readers may also have done so) that Soranzo had a copybook on stage with him when he writes his revisions to Sorranzaro.

Books, however, are not the only texts read on the early modern stage. Hamlet is presented as a reader not only of texts but also of people (both dead and alive)—with varying degrees of success. The attempted reading of bodies perhaps expresses early moderns' willingness to accept the idea that reading creates a hybrid body. Creating a textual self enables one to be "read" much more easily than if the body were an empty vessel. Hamlet is able to determine that Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are lying to him—"your news is not true" (2.2.238)—thereby suggesting he can read outer forms (though he fails when "reading" Claudius at prayer [3.3.72]). However, he is unable to properly decipher the literal insides (the skeleton) of humans—when he is presented with the skull of Yorick:

GRAVE: Here's a skull now hath lien you i'th'earth three and twenty years.

HAMLET: Whose was it?
 GRAVE: A whoreson mad fellow's it was. Whose do you think it was?
 HAMLET: Nay, I know not.
 GRAVE: A pestilence on him for a mad rogue! A poured a flagon of
 Rhenish on my head once. This same skull, sir, was Yorick's skull, the
 King's jester.
 HAMLET: This?
 GRAVE: E'en that.
 HAMLET: Alas, poor Yorick. I knew him Horatio, a fellow of infinite jest,
 of most excellent fancy (5.1.166-179)

The Gravedigger functions as a physical commentary on the text of Yorick's bones, eventually eliciting Hamlet's own readerly response to what has been presented to him. Suddenly a skull which looked like any other to him prompts him to expound, "Here hung those lips that I have kissed I know not how oft. Where be your gibes now, your gambols, your songs, your flashes of merriment, that were wont to set the table on a roar? Not one now to mock your own grinning? Quite chop-fallen?" (5.1.182-186). Hamlet performs a surface-level reading here—one that is concerned with the exterior of the body. By providing a physical commentary for Hamlet, the Gravedigger enacts the desire for an easier way to read bodies. The longing for a visible text on the body can be extended to the frequent use of letters in early modern dramas²²⁴ and their consideration during the period as serving as textual substitutions for the body of the author of the letter.

Why letters matter and early modern handwriting manuals

Letters are written to act in the writer's stead and serve as an easy way to see the body as text in action. Tiffany Stern notes that "letters, bills, proclamations [etc.] ... were often read out onstage, saving the actor from learning more than he had to, and so returning the enacted play at that moment to a paper medium [...]: plays performed were

²²⁴ Alan Stewart notes that some 31 letters, whose text is provided in the plays, appear in Shakespeare's plays. *Shakespeare's Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 26.

made up of a combination of the remembered word and the written one, part text, part action.”²²⁵ This thus reinforces the act of reading and therefore extraction for the audience (who is then reminded of this visual by the layout of the printed page). Stern adds that “Prologues, epilogues, songs, and letters tend to be visibly separated from the body of the text [...] it is as though prologue, epilogue, song, and letter are not entirely part of the texts to which they are attached.”²²⁶ The letters function as sources for reminders as to the extracted nature of reading. The extra-textual nature of the letters, reinforced through their appearance as actual physically present texts (in the forms of rolls or letters) for actors, is then visually reinforced through their representation on the page with the use of italics.

That letters themselves were also commonplaced in the early modern period further suggests the drive to textualize the body. Letters serve as an attempt to fill an absence in an effort to better know or understand that body, and they serve as sites for readers to shape themselves based on others’ textual representations. Gary Schneider notes that “the leaks in epistolary transmission and the porousness of social boundaries account for the existence of a single letter in several different manuscript contexts.”²²⁷ Examples of commonplace books that contain letters include: Folger MS V.a.321 contains 140 letters and includes such correspondents or recipients as Queen Elizabeth, Francis Bacon, and Ben Jonson. The British Library’s copy of *An almanack for the year*

²²⁵ Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 6-7. Stern calls such sections “scrolls” (see page 174).

²²⁶ Stern, *Documents of Performance*, 97.

²²⁷ Gary Schneider, *The Cultures of Epistolarity: Vernacular Letter and Letter Writing in Early Modern England, 1500-1700* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005). 26. He adds that Archbishop Matthew Hutton’s letter exchange with Robert Cecil exists in at least three commonplace books, and reiterates that these letters were “not meant to be copied and recirculated,” 26.

of our Lord God 1668 (C.194.a.334) contains the draft of a letter which is addressed to a Mr. Gilbert. The author of the letter questions a Mr. Silvesters because of his accusations against a woman for having an affair and “scandalizing her.” When the author asks Mr. Silvesters for any evidence to support his theory, he said “he did not beleue she was with childe & [...] his reason for his susspition; he said her belly grew bigg.” The commonplace book of Sir James Whitelocke (British Library MS Add. 53725) also contains drafts of letters among other items, such as speeches and recounting of conversations with others, as well as receipts and expenses.

The drive to textualize the body is evident in the explicit combination of text and body with Annabella’s letter in *’Tis Pity She’s a Whore*: “This paper double-lin’d with tears and blood” (5.1.34). The letter demonstrates a text that is both made up of words and composed of bodily fluids—its meaning is *made from* the body.²²⁸ This enables the text to be doubly representative of the human—not only textually but in its very composition. Much as Hamlet’s textual body precedes his physical body (via the arrival of letters), Annabella tells the friar to “Commend me to my brother; give him that, / That letter; bid him read it and repent” (5.1.46-47). The text of the letter allows the reader (Giovanni) to understand the author’s body: “Unrip the seals and see; / The blood’s yet seething hot, that will anon / Be frozen harder than congeal’d coral” (5.3.20-2), and also reinforces the notion of transformative bodies. Giovanni must see the letter and have “ocular proof”²²⁹ for himself in order to confirm “‘Tis her hand. / I know’t; and ‘tis all written in her blood” (5.3.30-32). The tangibility of words, and their connection to bodily

²²⁸ Similarly, Antonio’s letter in *Merchant of Venice* reads, “Here is a letter, lady / And every word in it a gaping wound / Issuing lifeblood” (3.2.262-5).

²²⁹ *Othello* 3.3.370

fluids (and therefore the human body) is presented by the Friar at the start of the play:
“wash every word thou utter’st / In tears, and, if’t be possible, of blood” (1.1.72-73).²³⁰
By “wash[ing] every word” in blood or tears the textual is explicitly connected to and transformed by the body.

It is also important to examine how letters function on the physical page in early modern playtexts, particularly through the use of italics and its similar appearance to handwriting. While on stage, letters may appear extraneous to the play, in the printed playtext, they are wholly part of the play through their inclusion in the printed text. Aldo Manuzio, who printed the first book in italics in 1501, used ligatures to create the effect of a typeface that mimicked handwriting: “Aldo Romano ... has made Greek letters with ligatures which appear penned.”²³¹ This connection to handwriting is significant in its use for the representation of letters in early modern playtexts. William Fulwood’s *The Enemy of Idleness* (1568) describes the purpose of letter writing:

The vse whereof so nedefull is,
in vttering of our mynde,
That no wite we may want the same,
as dayly prooffe doth finde.
[...]
For why? by letter well we may
communicate our heart
Vnto our frende, though distance farre
haue vs remoued apart.
By Letter we may absence make
euen presence for to be,
And talke with him as face to face
together we did see.²³²

²³⁰ Words are again given shape when Bergetto says “I tickled her with a rare speech” (1.3.56-7).

²³¹ 17 October 1502. Senatorial ten-year privilege against counterfeiters. Randall McLeod, “The Birth of Italics” Rare Book School Lecture (University of Toronto, 1 August 2016).

²³² William Fullwood, *The Enemy of Idleness*, (London, 1568) Aiiiv, Aiiijr.

Letters have the ability to make the writer present for the reader. Hamlet, who is associated with books, is made present at first not by the actual physical presence of his body but by the (hand)written word. His body arrives in textual form. Fulwood's suggestion that "by letter well we may / communicate our heart / vnto our frende, though distance farre / haue vs remoued apart" suggests that the textual form of the heart is made visible (re-inscribed/rewritten) so that others may understand the inner form.

Erasmus declares that "writing is just silent speech"; suggesting that writing makes physically present the desire to not be overheard (keeping matters private), but this is not (always) the case.²³³ Fulwood also emphasizes this ideal for letter writing:

When louing letter trots betwene,
and mynde to mynde declares.
It blabbeth not abrode the hid
and secrete of our mynde,
To any one, saue vnto him
to whome we haue assignde.
And looke what so we charge it tell,
it misseth not a iote:
When messenger by word of mouth
might hap forget his note,
And either tell somewhat to much,
or else leaue some vntold:
Therefore the littel Letter well
to trust we may be bolde.²³⁴

Fulwood plays upon the idea of silent communication even further—although earlier Fulwood suggests that letters make what is written on the heart visible, epistolary communication is still a form that is theoretically at least one that functions on silence—one that facilitates communication from "mynde to mynde" rather than ears/mouths etc.

While letters attempt to make present the physically absent body, person-to-person

²³³ Desiderius Erasmus, *De recta latine graecique sermonis pronuntiatione*, trans. Maurice Pope, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 86 vols. (Toronto, 1974-2002), 26: 397.

²³⁴ William Fulwood, *The Enemy of Idleness* (London, 1568), Aiijr, Aiiyv. EEBO Bodleian Copy.

contact is still considered superior, as it suggests with Hamlet's desire to speak directly in Horatio's ear. However, in the relationship between books and bodies these "boundaries" are fluid. Jonathan Goldberg states that "The letter produces the person who speaks at a distance: the embodied character is a scriptive formation: the mouth here [...] is produced by the letter."²³⁵ Letters enable the body to take a literal textual form.

While Fulwood details the ideal functions of a letter—one where

It blabbeth not abrode the hid
and secret of our mynde,
To any one, saue vnto him
to whom we haue assigned (A2r)

he idealizes the path letters often followed and ignores instances where letters are delivered into the wrong hands, intercepted, and are read aloud, not to mention letters composed by scribes via dictation.²³⁶ His claims presuppose that boundaries imposed will be maintained. Gary Schneider calls this idealization a "fantasy dialogue," which makes evident the "sense of anxiety [that] was inherent in early modern epistolary communication."²³⁷ Hamlet himself hints at this in his letter to Horatio: "I have words to speak in thine ear will make thee dumb; yet are they much too light for the bore of the matter" (4.6.22-24).

The potential unreliability of the written word is also seen in *'Tis Pity*; however, in this play it is depicted as a positive. This changeability demonstrates the fluid nature of the hybrid body. According to Donado, writing is more easily deceptive or persuasive:

²³⁵ Jonathan Goldberg, "Hamlet's Hand" *Shakespeare Quarterly* 39.3 (Autumn 1988): 313.

²³⁶ By the 1621 edition (10 editions of Fulwood's work were printed between 1568 to 1621) the definition of a letter takes form in prose and is defined as follows: "An Epistle [...] or letter is nothing else, but a declaration, by Writing of the mindes of such as bee absent, one of them to another, euen as though they were present." William Fulwood, *The Enemy of Idleness* (London, 1621). EEBO Newberry Copy, A2v.

²³⁷ Schneider, 30.

since you are
no better a speaker, I'll have you write to her after some
courtly manner and enclose some rich jewel in the letter. (1.3.85-6)

Material objects (here, both letter and jewel) are proposed as being more apt to sway the intended recipient. James Howell in his initial letter of *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaenæ* writes that

The tongue and the pen are both of them interpreters of the mind, but I hold the pen to be the more faithful of the two. The tongue *in udo posita*, being seated in a moist slippery place, may fail and falter in her sudden extemporal expressions; but the pen, having a greater advantage of premeditation, is not so subject to error, and leave things behind it upon firm and authentic record.²³⁸

For Howell, the atemporal nature of letters provides room for truth. "Premeditation" or the repetition of and redrafting of letters (similar to Brinsley's call to re-read) enables writing to more quickly align itself with truth.²³⁹ Letters' atemporal nature allows the writer to exert control over the text in order to fashion the representation they wish others to see.

In Act 2 of *'Tis Pity*, Bergetto would like to have it both ways by mining the perceived positive aspects of the written and oral/aural: to represent himself textually and thereby hopefully be more persuasive in his purpose and to accompany his letter to make sure his message is understood:

BERGETTO: You make, uncle? Why, am I not big enough to carry mine own letter, I pray?
DONADO: Ay, ay, carry a fool's head o'thy own. Why, thou dunce, wouldst thou write a letter and carry it thyself?
BERGETTO: Yes, that I would, and read it to her with my own mouth, for you must think, if she will not believe me myself when she hears me speak, she will not believe another's handwriting. (2.4.6-13)

²³⁸ James Howell, *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaenæ or The Familiar Letters of James Howell. Vol. 1* Ed. Agnes Repplier (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1997), 3.

²³⁹ Gary Schneider argues that "[t]he letter was ultimately a material artifact that signified temporal and spatial distance," 32.

Donado's response to Bergetto's suggestion implies that if letters are to serve in the absence of the writer's physical body, the writer cannot be present, not because it would seem foolish to exert supposed wasted energy by writing the letter but rather because the presence of the physical body suggests that the letters may be entirely ineffectual at achieving their perceived purpose.

“Tell my story”: Horatio as commonplacer

Although Horatio may seem to be an unexpected model for commonplacer, he demonstrates the reader's ability to weave together various textual fragments to shape one's own text. Horatio serves as an interesting choice to share Hamlet's tale because throughout the play he has not been depicted as a reliable receiver of information. At the start of the play Bernado tells Horatio to “Sit down awhile, / And let us *once again* assail your ears, / That are *so fortified* against our story, / What we have two nights seen” (1.1.33-36, *emph. added*). This suggests that Horatio only listens and takes up what interests him. His ears are “so fortified” that multiple attempts are needed for the sentinels to get their story across. When he fails to get the ghost to speak to him, Horatio must call upon Hamlet, “for upon my life / This spirit, dumb to us, will speak to him” (1.1.175-176).²⁴⁰ As if checking that Horatio is paying attention, Hamlet asks Horatio, “Dost thou hear?” (3.2.62) before continuing to relay information to him. Later on in that same scene, Hamlet once again checks to see that Horatio is following along:

HAMLET: Didst perceive?

HORATIO: Very well, my lord.

HAMLET: Upon the talk of the poisoning?

HORATIO: I did very well note him. (3.2.281-284)

²⁴⁰ In scene 4, Horatio also reveals he did not hear the hour strike twelve (see 1.4.3-6).

Horatio's responses, vague as they are, do not necessarily confirm that he has paid attention.²⁴¹ Hamlet in fact seems only to tell Horatio to circulate his tale because "Horatio, *I am dead, / Thou livest. Report me and my cause aright / To the unsatisfied*" (5.2.343-5, epmh. added). For Hamlet, it is only in his dying that he becomes willing to circulate and share his body-text with others; he has no other options for passing on his story (no offspring) and therefore must default to Horatio to continue the circulation of his text.

Shakespeare allows Hamlet's story to be reimagined and repurposed by someone who may be described as an imperfect listener and reproducer of others' texts, but who in fact is only demonstrating a different *type* of reading. Horatio has become privy to bits and pieces of Hamlet's story; in weaving those pieces together, Horatio creates his own story, fashioning it to suit his own purposes and reflect his own identity:

And let me speak to th'yet unknowing world
How these things came about. So shall you hear
Of carnal, bloody, and unnatural acts,
Of accidental judgments, casual slaughters
Of deaths put on by cunning and forc'd cause,
And, in this upshot, purposes mistook
Fall'n on th'inventors heads. All this can I
Truly deliver. (5.2.384-391)

Although Horatio claims he will "truly deliver" the events that have taken place, his moralizing account, reflected in the above lines, does not reproduce Hamlet's story, nor should it. Instead, Horatio's story is one that mirrors the manner in which *he* wants to shape his own identity. At the end of the play, the reader is then left with an example of how to use others' texts to reshape for their own purposes.

²⁴¹ This continues in 5.1.80, 85 and 5.2.3.

CHAPTER 5: CODA:

“IN Y^E PASSAGES OF &C”: EDWARD PUDSEY’S COMMONPLACE BOOK²⁴²

This project ends by studying a specific commonplace book owner, Edward Pudsey, showing not only how an early modern reader used playtexts to construct a notion of the self but also how by considering commonplace books as the material manifestation of the hybrid book/body the text of the book should be considered a single authored work. Edward Pudsey, an early modern bibliophile, is best known for his commonplace book and its extracts from Shakespeare’s plays. In this coda I argue that current scholarship has misunderstood what Pudsey has done with his commonplace book and that commonplace books are representative of the circuited nature of reading: reading is a many-bodied act that results in the creation of hybrid bodies; readers reshape texts for their own purposes and in producing a new, unique artifact, particularly evident in the case of commonplace books, they create through the act of reading a constant feedback loop, which produces new readers and writers in each evolution. Much of the plays excerpted by Pudsey were first printed between 1600-1602, suggesting that the bulk of his commonplacing took place shortly thereafter.²⁴³ Prior to its fragmentation, the

²⁴² Many thanks to Bob Bearman, David Kathman, and Juliet Gowan for their kindness and generosity. My research on Pudsey would not have been possible without their help.

²⁴³ 32 texts of those Pudsey excerpted from were printed during this period.

complete commonplace book contained extracts from a variety of plays (nearly 30 in total), as well as other topics, such as poetry, religion, and history (see Table 5.1 for a list of dramatists included).²⁴⁴ Shakespeare, Jonson, and Marston are the most frequent playwrights whose works appear in Pudsey’s commonplace book. Pudsey’s text provides insight into how early modern readers would have processed their reading. The patterns of organization facilitate quick reference and make it easy to pass on knowledge to future readers—thereby simultaneously creating a shared text (one body) and a community of readers, while also shaping the identity of the commonplace book owner.

Table 5.1 Dramatists included in Pudsey’s Commonplace Book

Author	Number of plays represented
Shakespeare	8
Jonson	5
Marston	4
Lyly	2
Dekker	2
Chapman	1
Heywood	1
Tourneur	1
Webster	1
Nash	1

²⁴⁴ Juliet Gowan notes that she finds Marlowe and Kyd the most “surprising omissions” from Pudsey’s commonplace book, particularly she notes, Kyd’s *Spanish Tragedy*. Gowan, “An Edition of Edward Pudsey’s Commonplace Book (c. 1600-1615) from the Manuscript in the Bodleian Library,” unpublished MPhil thesis (University of London, 1967), 71.

Middleton	1
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Provenance

Pudsey's commonplace book itself has an exciting history. Pudsey leaves multiple notebooks to his son, but only this specific notebook's whereabouts are currently known. After his death, Pudsey's notebooks passed to his friend John Deighton²⁴⁵ and then to a Mr. Basset in 1615.²⁴⁶ Over the course of the next 250+ years nothing is known about the circulation of Pudsey's notebooks. In 1886 the commonplace book is brought to Richard Savage's attention; Savage served as secretary and librarian for Shakespeare's Birthplace Trust from 1884-1910. The commonplace book was then bought at auction in 1888 by James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps; although it was thought to be complete at the time of purchase, it was later discovered to be missing leaves.²⁴⁷ Halliwell-Phillipps first discovered that the noted Shakespearean quotations seemed to be missing from the commonplace book, and it was only upon querying Savage that three leaves were sent to him, which were then bound at the end of the book at ff. 86-88.²⁴⁸ The Bodleian bought the commonplace book the following year.²⁴⁹ Although Bodley's Librarian continued to question Savage, believing that further leaves were missing, Savage claimed "the book

²⁴⁵ Pudsey leaves Deighton "[his] gold coloure silke stockings and blacke garters and [his] scarlet wastcoate and Twentie shillings lykewise to be bestowed in a ringe." PRO PROB 10/307. See transcription of Pudsey's will in Appendix C. Pudsey's son, whom he left the notebooks to, was only six or seven when Pudsey died. See also Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare: Upstart Crow to Sweet Swan: 1592-1623* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2011): 73, for more on Deighton.

²⁴⁶ See f.84.

²⁴⁷ Halliwell-Phillipps bought the manuscript on 2 August 1888 at the sale of the Neligan Library at Sotheby's (lot 1098).

²⁴⁸ Juliet Gowan. "'One Man in His Time': The Notebook of Edward Pudsey." *Bodleian Library Record* 22.1 (2009).

²⁴⁹ The Bodleian bought the commonplace book on 4 July 1889 for £12.

left my hands just as I received it.”²⁵⁰ It was not until 1977 that ER82/1/21, or the four leaves of Pudsey’s commonplace book at the Shakespeare’s Birthplace Record Office, was found by Juliet Gowan among Richard Savage’s papers.²⁵¹ This commonplace book, however, no longer exists as one complete text; it lives in two physical spaces—the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office (ER82/1/21) and the Bodleian Library (MS English Poet.d.3)²⁵²—as well as two digital spaces (serving as digital surrogates for the online exhibit *Shakespeare Documented*²⁵³). The current fragmented nature of the physical state of Pudsey’s commonplace book is also emblematic of the early modern reading process. Scholars must now suture together and fashion their own narratives based on the current state of the original document. Like Pudsey before him, Savage wanted to use extracts that meant something to him. Much as I have argued concerning the development of early modern readers’ identities, Savage’s identity is shaped (and it remains visibly and physically so) by this fragment of what was once Pudsey’s commonplace book. The four leaves are currently filed under “Original documents” in the Papers of Richard Savage.²⁵⁴

²⁵⁰ Gowan, “An Edition,” 731 (f.97). Savage tries to add to the veracity of his claims by closing his letter with “Believe me.”

²⁵¹ In the catalog record for “The Papers of Richard Savage” it is noted that “His [Savage’s] home and work were closely linked, and some of the original items in this collection clearly strayed from the collections of the Birthplace Trust.” The National Archives <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/rd/97837dc4-70a2-4a2b-8351-5baa55b0e588> accessed 27 February 2016.

²⁵² MS English Poet.d.3 is bound in green morocco with gold ornament and measures 9 ¾ X 7 1/8 inches; iii + 104 ff.

²⁵³ *Shakespeare Documented* reproduces all four leaves that are at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust and ff. 41, 86v of MS English Poet.d.3 at the Bodleian.

²⁵⁴ The Description for the Papers of Richard Savage is as follows: “Papers, copies, letters, transcripts, and 4 original sheets of Edward Pudsey’s commonplace book.” Shakespeare’s Birthplace Trust Catalogue. <http://bit.ly/1ppQN5d> Accessed 3 March 2016. See also The National Archives’ record for the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust at <http://bit.ly/1Qws5GU> Accessed 3 March 2016.

Pudsey as a Reader of *Hamlet*

While Pudsey's commonplace book contains extracts from a variety of genres, my focus remains as it has throughout this project on the use of early modern plays because the different mediums a play goes through are reflective of the hybrid book/body circuit (moving from manuscript to oral performance to a re-formed textual body made by publishers and printers to the printed playtext and finally to the manuscript interventions and creations of an early modern reader). The play itself goes through a re-embodiment and re-mediation. Pudsey's extract and re-mediation of lines from Act 1, scene 3 of *Hamlet* in many ways represents how I see the act of reading functioning in the period.

With some 51 extracts from *Hamlet*, Edward Pudsey's commonplace book illustrates a reader who goes well beyond the prescribed lines for marking that appear in the printed quartos of *Hamlet*. The only time Pudsey copies down lines that were marked with double inverted commas occurs at Act 1, scene 3, when Corambis/Polonius tries to give advice to Laertes. While the lines copied in Pudsey's commonplace book suggest that he was copying from Q2, he has, however, copied down 6 lines out of 11 that are pre-marked in Q1 on C2r (see Figures 5.1-3 for comparison).

If Pudsey did indeed read Q1 he then takes that text's suggestion for extraction and applies it to a future (re)reading, making it his own by adding in additional lines and adapting them further for his own use. The remainder of Pudsey's extracts show that he cut what he saw fit from the text of *Hamlet* to create his own personalized text, one that participated in the formation of his identity. The commonplace book extractions for *Hamlet* project a text that is centered on grief, silence versus speech, memory, and seeming versus being. This text becomes one that Pudsey considered so valuable that he

eventually leaves this commonplace book to his son in his will. In doing so, Pudsey demonstrates a desire to connect his textual progeny with his living progeny, a desire I examined more fully as exhibited by the characters in *Hamlet* in my previous chapter. Pudsey is able to keep a part of himself alive by leaving his commonplace book to his son, and in wanting those notebooks to be passed on he depicts the desire to continue the movement on the hybrid book/body circuit.

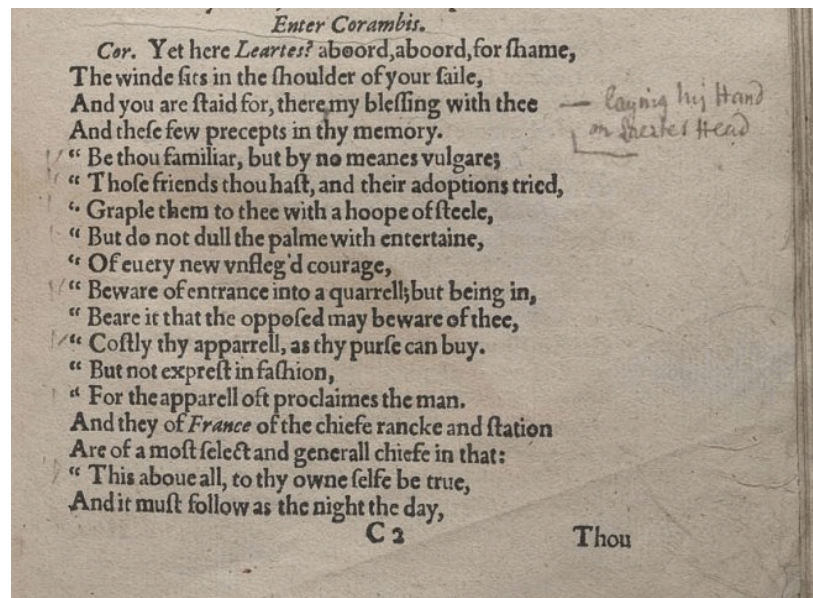


Figure 5.1 Image courtesy of the British Library, BL C.34.k.1, C2r.

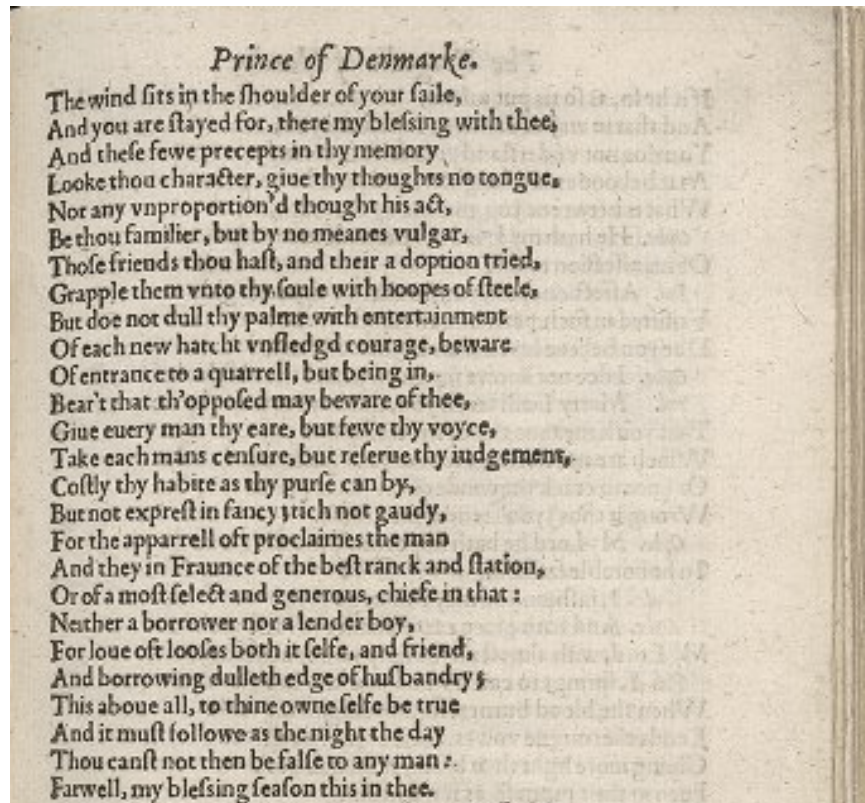


Figure 5.2 Image courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 22276, C4r.

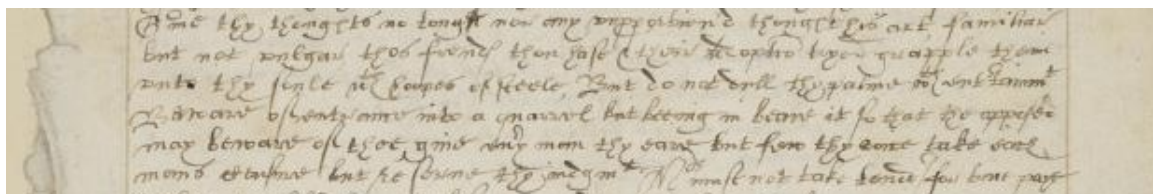


Figure 5.3 Image courtesy of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, ER82/1/21, folio 2r.

Unlike those commonplace books that contain master-headings that excerpts then get placed under, Pudsey finds organizing by work rather than theme more instructive for his own purposes. This organizational pattern emphasizes for the reader (and Pudsey expected his creation to be read by leaving his commonplace book to his son in his will) the commonplace book's ability to assemble into one unified whole a multitude of pieces into one, new creation. As all acts are quoted from, Pudsey's *Hamlet* extracts

demonstrates evidence of Pudsey having read through the entirety of the play. The most heavily mined act for quotations is Act 3 (with a total of 17 excerpts); when combined with those from Act 1 (the next most heavily commonplaced act), they account for 60% of all of Pudsey's extracts from *Hamlet* (see Table 5.2). While his sententiae mostly appear in chronological order, Pudsey's final excerpt is from Act 4: "His drift lookt thorough his bad performance."²⁵⁵ While this variant in organization perhaps suggests either having forgotten to include a previously marked passage or a return to the text (of *Hamlet*) to mine it further for commonplaces, it highlights a temporary rupture of the seemingly imposed order of the commonplace book.

Table 5.2 Pudsey's *Hamlet* Extractions

<i>Act</i>	<i>Number of lines extracted</i>	<i>Percentage from total</i>
I	14	27
II	12	24
III	17	33
IV	5	10
V	3	6

Assembling the Commonplace Book

Pudsey typically tries to start extracts from new works on a new page. This serves to reinforce the piecemeal nature of reading. The construction and arrangement of Pudsey's commonplace book suggests that he copied out these extracts previously

²⁵⁵ ER82/1/21, 2v.

(seeming to follow Brinsley's advice in *Ludus Literarius* as discussed in Chapter 4) and wrote them down before arranging them in his notebook. Reading is thus doubly reinforced as an action that occurs in bits and pieces: Pudsey's extractions are framed as being torn from the original text in an attempt to keep the extracts from one text on their own page(s). The violence enacted upon the parent text may at first seem negative, but it is nonetheless generative; the point is not whether the resultant new body can be deemed beautiful or hideous but rather that emphasis should be placed on the use and creation of a new body.

Pudsey often creates subheadings/labels throughout the commonplace book, though this practice tends to wane toward the end of the book. Although Gowan has characterized Pudsey's selections as evidence of someone "clearly attracted first and foremost by sheer wit," tabulating the frequency of repeated subheadings used by Pudsey shows that "fear" is used most often: a total of 12 times (see Table 5.3 below);²⁵⁶ these labels occur within roughly the first third of the commonplace book.²⁵⁷ The common thread amongst the extracts for this topic supports the idea that fear has the ability to overwhelm truth and affect memory.²⁵⁸ "ffeaie oftentimes makes men forgetfull aboue shame and all other obseruances"²⁵⁹ and "ffeaie maginfyes euerye thing on the enemies part aboue all trewth / and debaseth all our own meanes of help beneath all reason."²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ Gowan, "An Edition," 72. This tabulation does not count the last few folios that Gowan has deemed to not have been penned by Pudsey, nor does it include the "missing" leaves from the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust.

²⁵⁷ The last "fear" subheading occurs at f.33v.

²⁵⁸ There are also a fair number of extracts that have to do with fear that remain unlabeled: "He ought to feare many whom many feare" (78v; from Lodge's *The Devil Conjured*); "Wisely to feare ys to be free from feare" (80r; from Dekker and Middleton's *The Honest Whore* pt. 1); and "The power of a prince breeds feare, his actions, hatred or loue" (33v; from Cornwallis' *Discourses upon Seneca*).

²⁵⁹ Nearly half of the "fear" tags appear in excerpts from Guicciardini's *History of Italy*, 15r.

²⁶⁰ 9v.

Pudsey's commonplace book attempts to make sense of the world, and in turn, himself. A desire to establish an order or organization to the world is further evidenced by the top five most frequent thematic subheadings Pudsey uses (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.3 Repeated Subheadings in Pudsey's Commonplace Book

Subheading topic	Frequency of use in commonplace book
Fear	12
Law	9
K[ing]	9
Virtue	8
Prince(s)	8
Simile	8
Counsel(s)	7
Plutarch	7
War	8
Jealousy	5
Love	5
Injury	5
Good	5
Envy	5
Hope	5

In his work on commonplace books, Adam Smyth has noted that “Not only was the commonplace book of theory an idea(l) that was in a continual state of modification; the gap between neat prescription and messy practice was also often cavernously wide: where commonplace books end and where other textual forms begin (the notebook, pocket-book, miscellany, table-book, diary, thesaurus (‘treasure chest’), *sylvae* (‘forest’), florilegia) is often difficult to discern.”²⁶¹ Pudsey’s commonplace book is what Smyth dubs a “messier text.”²⁶² There are 111 thematic headings used for Pudsey’s dramatic extracts, several of which are repeated multiple times.²⁶³ These subheadings range from “drinking to one,” “m^rcye,” “violence,” and “tears.” “Loue,” “plainness,” “strangenes,” and “greef” are repeated the most frequently. The repetition of themes demonstrates that these entries were not planned in advance but rather were included as Pudsey saw fit. Pudsey’s organization of thematic headings makes it relatively easy to scan the length of the page and find what one wants (see Figure 5.4). The repetition of themes can perhaps also suggest a rethinking or reshaping of the terms, which emphasizes the ever-evolving process of commonplacing—those “always unfinished, indeed unfinishable texts.”²⁶⁴ Commonplace books are representative of the circuited nature of reading; readers can reshape the text as they please, and future readers are able to reformulate and revise selections for their own purposes, creating a constant feedback loop.

²⁶¹ Adam Smyth. *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 126-127.

²⁶² Smyth, 123. Related to Smyth’s note about the problems of defining commonplace books is that CELM calls Pudsey’s book a miscellany. *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts, 1450-1700*. “William Shakespeare.” <http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/introductions/ShakespeareWilliam.html> accessed 12 February 2016. Juliet Gowan calls it a notebook.

²⁶³ This includes labels used in the Birthplace Trust’s fragment, ER82/1/21.

²⁶⁴ Smyth, 152.

Reception History

Though not much scholarship on Pudsey exists, over the past 130 years, those that have written on Pudsey remain immensely focused on Pudsey's fidelity (or rather lack thereof) to his source texts; I argue that this emphasis derives from a misunderstanding of what it meant to read in the early modern period. Though footnoted regularly or mentioned in brief asides,²⁶⁵ no published modern lengthy assessment of Pudsey's commonplace book exists.²⁶⁶ Gowan's unpublished MPhil thesis is the only comprehensive examination of Pudsey's work.²⁶⁷ Most of the scholarly interest in Pudsey's commonplace book stems from his use of eight of Shakespeare's plays (*Merchant of Venice*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Richard II*, *Richard III*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*).²⁶⁸

²⁶⁵ In addition to the above noted scholarly references to Pudsey see also: Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 231; Lena Cowen Orlin, "The Private Life of Public Plays," *Shakespeare's World/World Shakespeares: The Selected Proceedings of the International Shakespeare Association World Congress, Brisbane, 2006*. Eds. Richard Fotheringham, Christa Jansohn, and R.S. White. (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008): 142; Laura Estill, *Dramatic Extracts in Seventeenth Century English Manuscripts: Watching, Reading, Changing Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2015). See chapter 1, "The Rise of Dramatic Extracting," especially pp. 2, 16-17, 22; Fred Schurink, 'Manuscript Commonplace Books, Literature, and Reading in Early Modern England', *HLQ*, 73/3 (2010): 465-9; Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare: Upstart Crow to Sweet Swan: 1592-1623* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2011). See chapter 2, "Three Early Readers," especially pp. 72-83; András Kiséry, *Hamlet's Moment: Drama and Political Knowledge in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016): 267-273, 276, 279; E.A.J. Honigmann, Ed. *Othello* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 1997). See Appendix 4: 388-389; Jean-Christophe Mayer, "Les Spectateurs de Shakespeare: à la Découverte des Lettres et Carnets de ses Contemporains" Ed. Patricia Dorval *Shakespeare et Ses Contemporains* (Paris: Société Française Shakespeare, 2003): 143-159; Juliet Gowan. "'One Man in His Time': The Notebook of Edward Pudsey." *Bodleian Library Record* 22.1 (2009): 94-101.

²⁶⁶ The total page count of scholarly engagement with Pudsey amounts to approximately 40 pages in total written during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This page count of course excludes Gowan's unpublished MPhil thesis.

²⁶⁷ When her thesis was submitted, the four leaves at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust had not yet been discovered; Gowan herself would later make the discovery in 1977—ten years after she completed her thesis.

²⁶⁸ There is increased interest in his *Othello* extracts, which imply that Pudsey brought a table-book to a performance of the play, since these extracts appear in the section dated 1600 and therefore predate the publication of *Othello* in 1622. J. Rees suggests that "Pudsey took it down actually in the theatre, and that it is an 'ad-lib' by one of the actors." J. Rees "Shakespeare and 'Edward Pudsey's Booke,' 1600" *N&Q* 237 (Sept 1992). 331. See also Arthur F. Marotti and Laura Estill, "Manuscript Circulation" *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespeare*. Ed. Arthur F. Kinney. (Oxford, Oxford UP, 2012): 67.

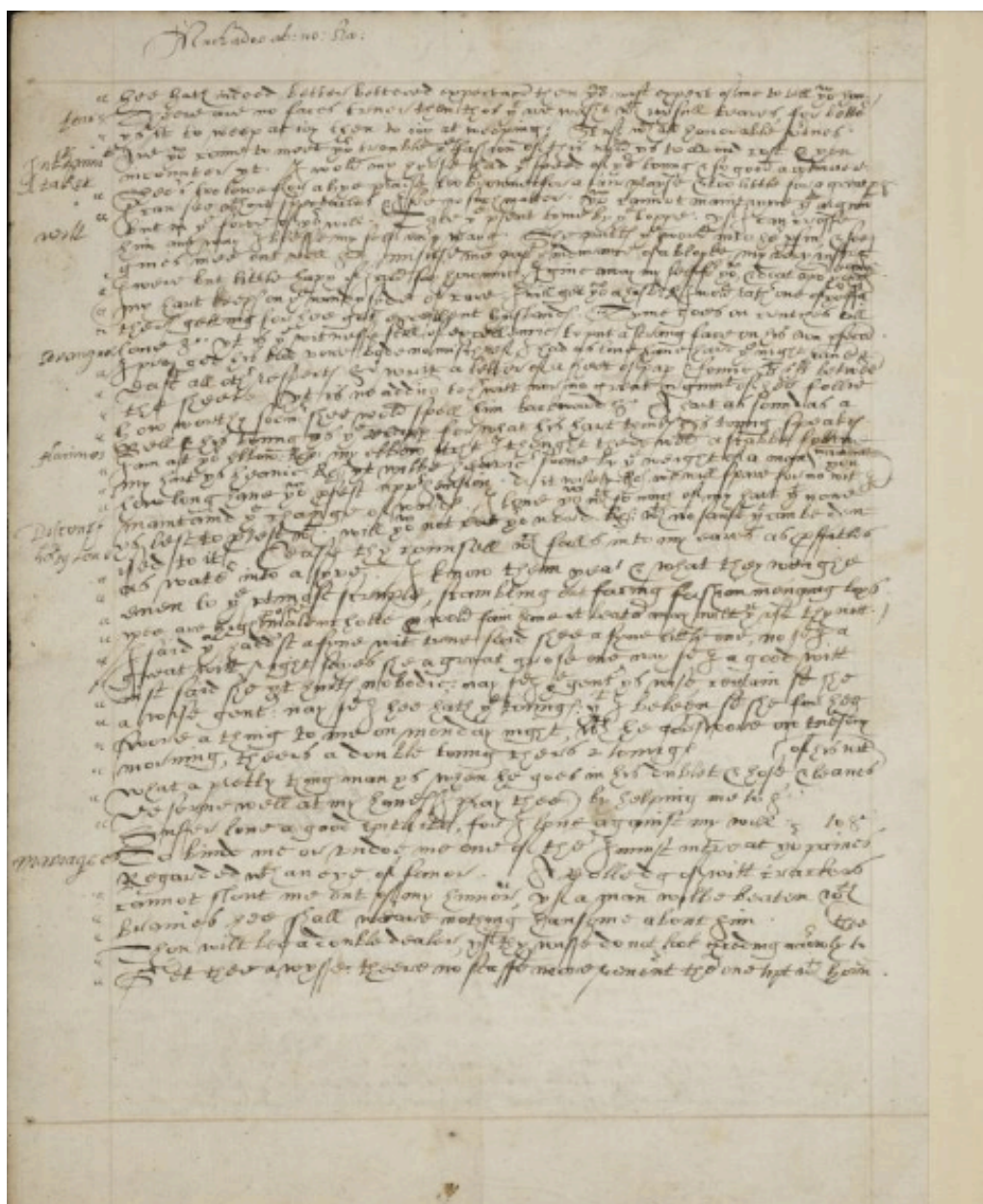


Figure 5.4 Image courtesy of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust. ER82/1/21, folio 1v.

Savage's transcription of Pudsey's commonplace book only displays an interest in his Shakespearean extracts.²⁶⁹ Savage tries in part to explain the mismatched quotations

²⁶⁹ Chapman's *Blind Beggar of Alexandria* does appear in Savage's work because he mistakenly believes it to be one of Shakespeare's lost plays (it is labeled "Iurus" in Pudsey's commonplace book).

by suggesting that Pudsey was friends with Shakespeare and that Pudsey's extracts were evidence of having had access to some of Shakespeare's early drafts of plays. Savage thus sets the trend of focusing in on Pudsey's seeming inability to faithfully quote from the source texts in his commonplace book. In the preface to his *Shakespearean Extracts from Edward Pudsey's Booke Temp. Q. Elizabeth and K. James* (1888), Savage notes that "the variations in some cases being so remarkable that the question at once arises from what source they can have been taken."²⁷⁰ More recent scholars, such as Katherine Duncan-Jones, have also noted Pudsey's propensity to take the original texts and "reduce [the excerpt] to a prose aphorism [...] from a speech by a character who ought in a full theatrical context to be regarded as morally suspect."²⁷¹ This apparent dissatisfaction with the lack of fidelity to the original text (a "gross distortion"²⁷²) stems from the problems inherent in modern scholars' attempts at defining the act of reading in the early modern period. Savage's interest both in *only* transcribing the Shakespearean extracts Pudsey includes in his book and his privileging of the parent text in the textual layout of his work (here the printed quartos and first folio of Shakespeare's work, see Figure 5.5) functions to the detriment of understanding and analyzing Pudsey's original commonplace book.²⁷³

²⁷⁰ *Shakespearean Extracts from Edward Pudsey's Booke Temp. Q. Elizabeth and K. James*. Collected by Richard Savage. Stratford-upon-Avon Notebooks 1 (Stratford-upon-Avon: John Smith; London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1888), Vii. Gowan notes that "very few of these extracts are word for word [...] Pudsey is] in a habit of extensive paraphrasing," 231.

²⁷¹ Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare: Upstart Crow to Sweet Swan, 1592-1623*. (New York: Arden Shakespeare, 2011), 68. Gowan, too, characterizes Pudsey's selections as portraying someone who was "clearly attracted first and foremost to sheer wit [...] Pudsey went to and read the plays primarily in order to enjoy himself, and not in order to draw serious inferences or collect evidence against plays and playgoing." Gowan, "An Edition," 72,73.

²⁷² Duncan-Jones, 69.

²⁷³ Savage provides the extracts in the following set up: Notebook (that is Pudsey's commonplace book), quarto, and folio.

Scholarly assessment of Pudsey's commonplace book varies. David Kathman states that Pudsey's commonplace book "is more wide-ranging and neatly organized than most commonplace books of the time."²⁷⁴ Katherine Duncan-Jones claims that Pudsey's "treatment of Shakespeare's text was [...] reductive and conventionalizing" and that "Pudsey simply selects a witty phrase which he decontextualizes."²⁷⁵ András Kiséry's recent *Hamlet's Moment* (2016), however, provides perhaps the most nuanced reading of Pudsey's commonplace book and argues that Pudsey "included every single play printed before 1610 that was associated by modern critics with the *poetomachia* as well as 8 plays by Shakespeare" and adds that "Pudsey's selection[s are] made on aesthetic grounds, with an ear for apt formulation, whatever the subject matter might be."²⁷⁶ Kiséry believes that Pudsey looks forward to future "utterances" rather than future writing²⁷⁷; I contend that Pudsey has purposefully presented himself textually (through these extracts) to incite future interactions and to contribute to the shaping of those future readers as individuals.

²⁷⁴ David Kathman, 'Pudsey, Edward (*bap.* 1573, *d.* 1612/13)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/71298>, accessed 28 Feb 2016]

²⁷⁵ Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare: Upstart Crow to Sweet Swan: 1592-1623* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2011): 72, 76. Duncan-Jones does, however, find his commonplace book 'fascinating in identifying elements that an early modern reader thought most worth remembering,' 72.

²⁷⁶ Kiséry, 268, 279.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 270.

“Romeo & Juliet.”

(The Quarto of 1609 was printed from that of 1599, and differs from it only by a few corrections, but more frequently by additional errors.)

NOTE BOOK

Loue ffearth^r of lead, bright smoake, cold fyer, sicke health, still waking sleep &c

(Act I., sc. I.)

QUARTO 1597

Feather of lead, bright smoke, cold fire, sicke health,
Still waking sleepe

QUARTO 1599

Feather of lead, bright smoke, cold fier, sicke health,
Still waking sleepe,

FOLIO 1623

Feather of lead, bright smoake, cold fire, sicke health,
Still waking sleep,

NOTE BOOK.

Loue If I see one passing fair, y^e is to mee but as a note, wher I read who past y^t passing faire

(Act I., sc. I.)

QUARTO 1597

(No similar Text.)

Figure 5.5 Image courtesy of Cornell University Library. Savage, *Shakespearean extracts from Edward Pudsey's booke*, p. 10.

“In y^e passages of his^{discours &c}”: Forming A Community of Readers

The commonplace book itself reflects a variety of readers spread out throughout the centuries, creating an archive of readers. The pages of Pudsey’s commonplace book contain multiple hands: the earlier mentioned Mr. Basset, whose signature appears on f.84, and the names Richard and Nicholas, which appear on f.50, perhaps referring to Pudsey’s cousin and brother respectively (see Pudsey’s will in Appendix C).²⁷⁸ Pudsey himself expresses a desire for future readers through his use of double inverted commas. The effect created is one where the compiler has signaled his work as being worthy of commonplacing (refer back to Figure 5.4 above and see Figure 5.6 below). The eye is drawn to the familiar notation in printed books signaling sententiae;²⁷⁹ the double inverted commas serve as signals for future readers. This emphasizes the nature of commonplace books as being “manuscripts forever in the process of being made”²⁸⁰ — they are texts that anticipate future readings/readers. The following excerpts (see Table 5.4) show instances of extracts that Pudsey deems worthy of using double inverted commas:

Table 5.4 Extracts where Pudsey uses double inverted commas

Extract	Folio
Yt is seldome scene for men to bee fortunate & wise both at once.	9v
Great thanks in Little Speech.	25r
Her head wounded, y ^e dropps of blood thorough he ^r amb ^r hair seemd lyke rubies set in flaming gold	25r
The incomparable ex ^c ellencies of her doth disdaine the limitacō of tytles	87v
An absolute Commandm ^t sylenceth all thought of contradiction	88r

²⁷⁸ See Gowan’s description of the various hands present in the manuscript. Gowan, “An Edition,” 49-63.

²⁷⁹ For a contemporary example in printed playbooks see Webster’s *The Duchess of Malfi* (Q1 1623).

²⁸⁰ Smyth, 152.

Much eloquence is not required to trewth nor store of words to honest meaning	88r
that exceeded the plentifullest vayne of description	88r
More iudgm ^t to mislyke then power to forbear	88r
pump for witt	88r
Such a one is able to keep a child from play & and old mā from the chimney corner. ²⁸¹	88r

Pudsey's readings also invite and expect conversation, as a number of his extracts record responses.²⁸² The relationship between book and body and the creation of the hybrid book/body is evident in Pudsey's excerpts from *Romeo and Juliet* (see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5 Pudsey's extracts from *Romeo and Juliet*

Extract	Folio
my thoughts are bound prentises to yor words &c.	86v
If I see one passing fair yt is to mee but as a note, when I read who past y ^t passing faire.	86v
Loue goes toward Loue as schoole boyes from their bookes But Loue from Loue towards schoole with heauy Lookes	86v

This bodily connection to the text can be viewed as one Pudsey hopes will be felt between his own readers and his commonplace book.

In addition to Pudsey's use of double inverted commas, he also uses an italic hand for some of his extractions. His spare use of an italic hand throughout his book, save for employing it for his subheadings, doubly calls attention to these extracts when coupled with the use of double inverted commas.²⁸³ Strikingly, a fair number of these extracts that appear in an italic hand also have to do with fear (though they are not labeled as such):

Amity ys founded vpon som obligaco w^{ch} easily may bee broken

²⁸¹ Gowan argues that ff.87 and 88 were originally ff. 39 and 40.

²⁸² See, for example, 83v, Pudsey's extracts from *Coryat's Crudities*.

²⁸³ Gowan believes that Pudsey was learning an italic hand and sees evidence of the development of that hand over time in his commonplace book.

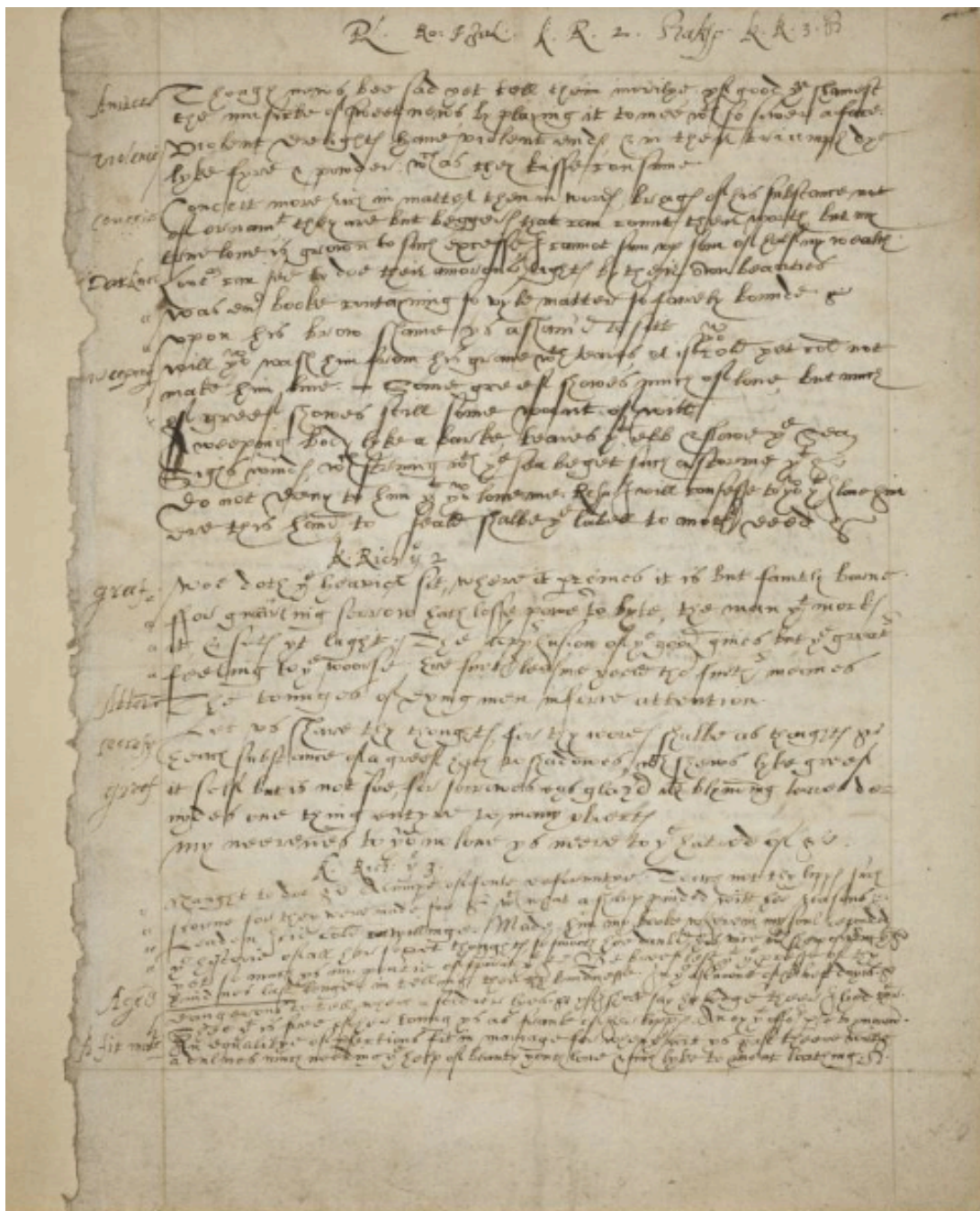


Figure 5.6 Image Courtesy of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust. ER82/1/21, folio 1r.

*but fear ys founded vpon a fear of punishm^t w^{ch} neu^r forsakes y^e person.*²⁸⁴

Both methods signal Pudsey's commonplace book as a text set out for future readers, which is further supported by Pudsey's leaving of his commonplace book to his son in his will. Pudsey's son is granted his notebooks in Pudsey's will: "All his books to be kept for him, especially notebooks, or at least such as executors think fit, rest to be sold"²⁸⁵ (See Appendix C for a full transcript of Pudsey's will). In leaving his notebooks to his son, Gowan argues that Pudsey was "aiming to establish in himself, and pass on to his son, a mental kingdom of order, reason, understanding, and enjoyment."²⁸⁶ The specific reference to Pudsey's commonplace books in his will demonstrates that they can be "a technology for both recording and shaping a future life."²⁸⁷

A "mixing" of beings: Formulating the Subject through Reading

Pudsey's commonplace book effectively demonstrates readers' transformation of texts. Commonplacing allows the reader to create their own ideal text; as Rosalie Colie says, these commonplacers are "collector and a creator."²⁸⁸ To return to the emblematic metaphor for commonplacing discussed in Chapter 2, much like the bee gathers pollen from a variety of flowers, the reader who creates a commonplace book does so by gathering a selection of excerpts from a variety of texts. The act of reading results in, as

²⁸⁴ 76v. This extract is excerpted from Machiavelli's *The Prince*.

²⁸⁵ E.A.J. Honigmann and Susan Brock, eds. *Playhouse Wills, 1558-1642: An Edition of Wills by Shakespeare and His Contemporaries in the London Theatre*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993). 93.

²⁸⁶ Gowan, diss, 83.

²⁸⁷ Smyth, 151.

²⁸⁸ Rosalie Littell Colie, *My Echoing Song: Andrew Marvell's Poetry of Criticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), 174.

Seneca says, “one delicious compound” of the reader’s own.²⁸⁹ Macrobius’ “mixing” of beings (that of the bee and the nectar produced²⁹⁰) can be aligned with Pudsey’s “variations,” as Savage calls them, on contemporary authors’ texts, which are not variations but rather adaptations of the parent text—one that makes the “quotation” the reader’s/compiler’s own. Perhaps the best example of this in Pudsey’s commonplace book can be seen by comparing his adaptation with that of 3.5.129-137 in *Romeo and Juliet*:

Pudsey’s extract	Romeo and Juliet
A weeping body lyke a barke, teares y ^t ebb & flowe y ^e sea, Sighs winds, w ^{ch} striuing w th y ^e sea beget such a storme y ^t &c. ²⁹¹	How now, a conduit, girl? What, still in tears? Evermore show’ring? In one little body? Thou counterfeit’st a barque, a sea, a wind, For still thy eyes—which I may call the sea— Do ebb and flow with tears. The Barque thy body is, Sailing in this salt flood; the winds thy sighes Who, raging with thy tears and they with them, Without a sudden calme will overset Thy tempest-tossèd body. ²⁹²

²⁸⁹ Lucius Anneus Seneca, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 5, *Epistles 66 – 92*, trans. Richard M. Gummere (Loeb Classical Library, 1917; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 277.

²⁹⁰ As a reminder from chapter 2, Macrobius states, “We ought to in some sort to imitate bees; and just as they, in their wandering to and fro, sip the flowers, then arrange their spoil and distribute it among the honeycombs, and transform the various juices to a single flavor by some mixing with them a property of their own being, so I too shall put into writing all that I have acquired in the varied course of my reading.” Macrobius, *Saturnalia Volume I: Books 1-2*. Ed. and trans. Robert A. Kaster. Loeb Classical Library. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011): pr. 5, emphasis added.

²⁹¹ ER82/1/21, folio 1r.

²⁹² 3.5.129-137. *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, eds. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

By viewing Pudsey as an author and creator in his own right, rather than someone who merely copies out excerpts from texts in either a faithful or sloppy manner, the reader emerges as one who develops their identity through the reshaping of texts.

Man of Letters: A Visual Representation of the Hybrid Book/Body:

This project began by pointing to Arcimboldo's *Librarian* to frame my argument about the hybrid book/body circuit, and in order to complete the circuit, I return to Arcimboldo—this time, however, using his *Man of Letters* (see Figure 5.7). This sketch portrays a figure whose very body, as well as clothing, is composed of scraps of paper. Unlike Arcimboldo's *Librarian*, which depicts a decidedly more ostentatious display of the hybrid body, this illustration renders a more subtle representation of the hybrid book/body. At first glance, the viewer may not even notice that this figure is composed of paper; only upon closer inspection is this made apparent. Though the writing on this hybrid figure is scant, it is nonetheless still there, demonstrating the body's receptive nature to text. The 61 on the figure's forehead in *Man of Letters* is supposedly representative of Arcimboldo's age when he composed this self-portrait. This assertion and connection to (re)birth is similar to de Bury's at the close of the *Philobiblon*, which I discussed in my Introduction, when he reminds his readers that he completed his work on his birthday. Both serve as attempts to visually represent a rebirth of oneself and the creation of the hybrid book/body.

By visually depicting a figure composed of fragmented bits of text, Arcimboldo's *Man of Letters* is emblematic of Pudsey, who has shaped himself through his reading,



Figure 5.7 Giuseppe Arcimboldo, Self-portrait on paper (“Man of Letters”), 1587

made visible by the selections he desires to set down in his commonplace book. This sketch sets itself apart from the Nürenberg Carnival Book referenced in Chapter 2, which uses letters as an *exterior* covering for the body. Although the letters in the Nürenberg Carnival Book help establish the appearance of that figure, they do not make explicit the text's ability to form and shape the physical substance of the figure as they do in Arcimboldo's drawing. Arcimboldo's *Man of Letters* contains blank "pages," or scraps of paper, inviting future interaction and shaping from its viewers. Pudsey's commonplace book is reflective of the assembling of texts to create a new hybrid being to facilitate the construction of an identity. His commonplace book functions not only as a living memory of himself for his son but also as a text that his son and other future readers can use to shape their own identities, beginning the circuit anew. In prioritizing the author over the reader we have ignored how readers themselves function as authors. This primacy of the author is evident in scholars' desire to create a binary for readers' marginalia: annotations are deemed as either "good" or "bad" depending on whether they relate to the printed text. Viewing Pudsey as an author not only transforms our understanding of the act of reading but also recuperates Pudsey's commonplace book as a text to be studied on its own merits as a solely authored work. By extending the margins of the page to commonplace books, this project has argued for the creation of a hybrid book/body circuit. This dissertation has also made evident that these margins extend not only to the manuscript pages of commonplace books but to the reader's own body. Through the sorting of texts readers are able to construct their own identities, physically reframing others' works for their own purposes.

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APPENDIX A.²⁹³

PLAYS EXCERPTED IN PUDSEY'S COMMONPLACE BOOK

(alphabetical by author)

Chapman, *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*

Dekker (and Middleton?), *Blurt Master Constable*

Dekker and Middleton, *The Honest Whore*, part I

Dekker, *The Honest Whore*, part II

Dekker, *Satiromastix*

Heywood, *The Golden Age*

Heywood, *How to Choose a Good Wife*

Jonson, *The Case is Altered*

Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*

Jonson, *Every Man Out of His Humor*

Jonson, *Poetaster*

Lyly, *Alexander and Campaspe*

Lyly, *Love's Metamorphoses*

Marston, *Antonio and Mellida*, parts I and II

²⁹³ Unless otherwise noted information for the Appendixes has been adapted from Juliet Gowan, "An Edition of Edward Pudsey's Commonplace Book (c. 1600-1615) from the Manuscript in the Bodleian Library," unpublished MPhil thesis, University of London, 1967. Data has been updated to reflect the discovery of ER82/1/21.

Marston, *What You Will*

Nash, *Summer's Last Will and Testament*

Shakespeare, *Hamlet*

Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*

Shakespeare, *Much Ado about Nothing*

Shakespeare, *Othello*

Shakespeare, *Romeo & Juliet*

Shakespeare, *Richard II*

Shakespeare, *Richard III*

Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*

Tourneur, *The Atheist's Tragedy*

Webster, *The White Devil*

APPENDIX B:

CONTENTS OF PUDSEY'S MANUSCRIPT

Bod. MS English Poet.d.3

MS Folio	Author	Title
1	Sidney	"Leave me o Loue"
2v	Raleigh	"The Lie"
9	Livy	<i>Historie of Rome</i>
10v	Fulbecke	<i>Continuance of Livy</i>
11	Tacitus	<i>Annals, Histories, Agricola</i>
14v	Guicciardini	<i>History of Italy</i>
17	Hayward	<i>History of...Henry III</i>
18	Pliny	<i>Natural History</i>
20	Remigio Nannini	<i>Civill Considerations</i>
21	Nash	<i>Pierce Penilesse</i>
21	Nash	<i>Lenten Stuffle</i>
21	Nash	<i>Haue With You to Saffron Walden</i>
21v	Nash	<i>Summer's Last Will and Testament</i>
21v	Nash	<i>Christes Teares</i>
22	Harvey	<i>Four Letters vs. Nash</i>
24v	Silvayn & Van den Busche	<i>The Orator</i>
25v	Huralt	"Magistracy"
26	More	<i>Utopia</i>
26v	Melbancke	<i>Philotimus</i>
27	Cornwallis	<i>Essays, pt. 1</i>
31	Bacon	<i>Essays</i>
32	Bacon	<i>Religious Meditations</i>

33	Bacon	<i>Colours of Good and Evil</i>
33v	Cornwallis	<i>Discourses on Seneca</i>
35v	de la Perriere	<i>Mirroure of Pollicie</i>
39	Torquemada	<i>Spanish Mandeville of Miracles</i>
39v	Jonson	<i>Every Man Out of His Humour</i>
40	Jonson	<i>Cynthia's Revels</i>
40v	Marston	<i>Jack Drum's Entertainment</i>
41	Shakespeare	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>
41	Chapman	<i>The Blind Beggar of Alexandria</i>
41	Jonson	<i>Every Man In His Humour</i>
41v	Marston	<i>Antonio & Mellida, pt I & II</i>
41v	Jonson	<i>Poetaster</i>
42v	Dekker	<i>Satiromastix</i>
43	de L'Espine	<i>Discourse of Tranquility</i>
46	Cornwallis	<i>Essays, Part II</i>
52	Johnson	<i>Essays</i>
55v	Coignet	<i>Politick Discourse on Truth & Lying</i>
57v	Lloyd	<i>Pilgrimage of Princes</i>
59	Case	<i>Prays of Musick</i>
59v	Botero	<i>Historie of the Most Famous Kingdomes</i>
63v	de la Marche	<i>The Resolved Gentleman</i>
63v	Jouius	<i>Discourse of Rare Inventions</i>
64v	Barlowe	<i>Sermon...on Essex</i>
64v	Bacon	<i>Discourse...on Essex</i>
65v	Oberndorff	<i>Of the Trew Phisition</i>
66	Machiavelli	<i>Florentine History</i>
68	Commines	<i>Historie</i>
69v	Ortelius	<i>Epitome of Theatre of the World</i>
71	Guevara	<i>Chronicles</i>
72v	du Bec	<i>History of Tamberlaine</i>
73	Sidney	<i>Apologie for Poetrie</i>
74	Watson	<i>A Decadordon</i>
74v	Arnauld	<i>Le Franc Discours</i>

75	Lloyd	<i>Stratagems of Jerusalem</i>
75v	Lloyd	<i>Lawes</i>
75v	Fenner	<i>Antiquodlibet</i>
76	Gentillet	<i>Discourse...of wel-governing</i>
78	Lodge	<i>The Diuel Conjured</i>
78v	Breton	<i>A Merry Dialogue</i>
79	Castilione	<i>The Courtyer</i>
80	Dekker & Middleton	<i>The Honest Whore, I.</i>
80	Jonson	<i>The Case is Altered</i>
80	W.M.	<i>The Man in the Moone</i>
80v	Tourneur	<i>The Athiest's Tragedy</i>
81	Marston	<i>What You Will</i>
81	Webster	<i>The White Diuel</i>
82v	Herodotus	<i>History</i>
83v	Coryat	<i>Coryats Crudities</i>
86	Heywood	<i>How to Chuse a Good Wife</i>
86	Dekker (& Middleton?)	<i>Blurt Mr. Constable</i>
86v	Lyly	<i>Love's Metamorphoses</i>
86v	Lyly	<i>Alexander & Campaspe</i>
86v	Shakespeare	<i>Titus Andronicus</i>
86v	Shakespeare	<i>Romeo & Juliet</i>
87	?	<i>Middle T[emple] Christ[mas Revels]</i> ²⁹⁴
88	Plutarch	<i>Moralia</i>

Shakespeare BPT ER82/1/21

1r	Shakespeare	<i>Romeo & Juliet</i>
1r	Shakespeare	<i>Richard II</i>
1r	Shakespeare	<i>Richard III</i>
1v	Shakespeare	<i>Much Ado About Nothing</i>
2r	Shakespeare	<i>Hamlet</i>

²⁹⁴ For a note on the text, see Gowan, "An Edition," 595.

2v	Dekker & Middleton	<i>Honest Whore pt. I</i>
3r	Gentillet	<i>Anti-Machiavel</i>
3v	Gentillet	<i>Anti-Machiavel</i>
4r	Heywood	<i>The Golden Age</i>
4r	Lemnius	<i>The Touchstone of Complexions</i>
4v	Lewknor	<i>Discourse on Universities</i>

APPENDIX C:

EDWARD PUDSEY'S WILL²⁹⁵

In the name of God Amen I Edward Pudsey of Tewkbury
in the Countie of Gloster gent being in *perfect* health and memory (for the w^{ch} and all
the rest of his great mercies towards me and myne I humbly thanke my God) Yet
Considering the vncertainty of this transitory lyffe and therefore endeavoring (by the
Lords gracious assistance) not to be vnprovided for heavenly or worldly causes when=
soever it shall please his devyne maiestie to call mee out of this to a better lyfe,
doe make this my last will and Testament in manner and forme following, my sinfull / soule I doe
wholy betake and Committ vnto the infinite mercye of Almightye god,
meekly acknowledging both by originall corruption & by my many actuall transgres=
sions (in his Iustice damnation to bee my due, yet assuredly beleevinge by takinge
hold wth the hand of faith vppon the gracious promises of our mercifull ffatherto
all repentant synners in his holy writt deliuered, And vppon the merrittes bitter
death, & earnest mediation of our sweete saviour Christ Iesus, That I am one of the

²⁹⁵ PRO PROB 10/307. This transcription of Pudsey's will has been compiled by referencing the following two sources: Juliet Gowan, "An Edition of Edward Pudsey's Commonplace Book (c. 1600-1615) from the Manuscript in the Bodleian Library," unpublished MPhil thesis (University of London, 1967): 712-718. And E.A.J. Honingmann and Susan Brock, eds. *Playhouse Wills, 1558-1642: An Edition of Wills by Shakespeare and His Contemporaries in the London Theatre* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 92-94. Honingmann and Brock describe the will as follows: "Three sheets joined at top, each with signature and seal of testator. Text in facile secretary, marginated codicil and endorsed notes in mixed hand sharing some characteristics of main text, both possibly hand of testator; signatures in italic," 94.

A note on the transcription: I have indicated the use of expansions with italics. Gowan did not feel expansions for all – es graphs were appropriate; see Gowan, "An Edition," 67; I have, however, expanded them. All other italicization is to denote the use of an italic hand in the manuscript. The use of brackets [] is to denote an obliteration or indistinguishable letters.

elect before all worldes, ffor the holy and blessed spiritt doth assure my spirit, That I am
 freed from all my infinit synnes and transgressions and the punishment therevnto due –
 And so being Iustified by the mercifull Imputation of Christes righteousnes rest assu=
 red to bee glorified both in soule & body, My body to be buried as shall seeme fitte to whom
 it belongs to haue Care thereof, howsoever some good devyne to preach at my funerall
 and to haue for his paines Twentie shillings, I give to the poore of the parish where
 I shalbe buried Twenty shillings, yf at Tewxbury Three poundes to be distributed
 by the Churchwardens, I geve vnto my deare and welbeloved wyffe Three hundred
 Poundes and the lease of my house wheare I now dwell and all the goodes plate and
 howshold stufte whatsoever therein contained and therevnto belonging except hereafter
 bequeathed in this my present will, I give vnto my sonne Edward Pudsey all my
 landes Tenements and Annuyties whatsoever to him and his heires for euer and
 Three hundred poundes both w^{ch} to be ymployed for his maintenance and to his
 vse (till he accomplish the age of nyneteene yeeres) by my Executors then hee
 to bee absolutely possessed thereof I will that all my books be safe kept for him
 (especiall ye my note bookes) or at least such as my Executors shall thinke fit,
 the Rest to be sold, I will that my wyffe may have sixe bookes of divinitie w^{ch}
 shee please to choose, And that she during her widowhood and the Childrens mino=
 ritie shall haue the education of them and allowance for the same but vppon her
 mariage they to be disposed at the discretion of my Executors intereatinge
 them to bee exceeding carefull in giving them religious education and to breed vp
 my sonne in the vniersity perswading him and from mee chardging him when it
 will please God to make him Capable thereof to professe the studye of Devinitie
 yf the Lords spirit do worke in him as I trust yt will thereto, I giue vnto my
 daughter Amye two hundred poundes payable at her marriage in the meane tyme
 to be employed to her vse, I will that yf my sonne dye in the meane tyme

before he accomplish the age afforesaid, Then my wife to enioye all the landes and
 Tenements wth Annuyties during her life, And my daughter Amy to haue the
 said Three hundred poundes wth the increase thereof, And after the decease of her mother all the
 Landes and Tenementes wth the appurten^ances to her and her heires for euer, yf she dye wthout
 yssue Then I will that all the foresaid landes with thappurten^ances shall descend to my brother
 Nicholas and his heires for euer, I give my seale Ringe to my sonne Edward to bee delivered
 him at the age afforesaid, in the meane tyme yt to bee in his mothers Custodye, In all love and
 kindnes intreating her and by her matrimoniall duety straightlye Chardginge her to bee so
 exceedinge Carefull to see our Children soe brought vp in the true feare of God and learning
 that wee maye have Comfort of them another daye, In w^{ch} good Care I earnestlye
 intreat my Brother Nicholas to bee assistant and helpefull, I give to my foresaid brother
 Nicholas Tenn poundes my gelding and furniture, all my apparel except hereafter bequeathed,
 my sword and dagger, girdles and hangers, and my privy Coate I give to my two
 Brethren Thomas and Samuell Thirtie poundes a peece payable when either of them shalbee
 ffree of London and keepe there trades in open shoppe, or otherways take ^{such} good stayed courses
 As my Executors shall well approve of, I give all what shalbee recovered by the Annuytie
 of Twenty markes *per Annum* vppon land lying in Newton Solney in Derby shire and the
 arrerages thereof arysing to foure hundred marks or thereabouts vnto my Three Sisters
 Elener, Martha, and Margery equally to bee devided amongst them And to each of them
 Thertie poundes to bee paid wth in one yeare next after my death, I give vnto my ffatherly
 ffriend Mr. Blount of Arlaston Esquire Twentie shillinges to bee bestowed in a Ringe and the
 lyke to the honorable and worthy M^{rs} Blount And what bookes I haue there shee shall
 please to accept of, I give to my long approved good frend M^r Phillipp Kinge, my velvet
 Ierkin and my Carnation silke stockinges and garters and Twenty shillinges to bee bestowed
 in A Ringe, I give to my other good ffreind M^r Iohn Daughton of Gloster my gold
 coloure silke stockings and blacke garters and my scarlet wastcoate and Twentie shillinges

lykewise to be bestowed in a ringe, I will that what I owe to any bee presently vpon prooffe thereof paid, I may forget but now sure I remember not any, except what I stand engaged in for others wherof all I trust I am well secured, but for ffftie pounds for w^{ch} I haue for this many yeares stood bound to Mr. Spencer of Lincoln's Inn together wth Mr. Beawfoe and my Cosen Richard Pudsey (the M^r of Art) who drew mee therto, The money was Payd to Taylers and other trades men in London being due to them from S^r Thomas Beawfoe A letter from his then wife to mee importing so muche w^{ch} my said Cosen tells me hee is well able to prove ffor my owne part I had not a penny thereof, This was in my yonger yeares so that I neither had nor then sought for my securitie, fynallie my will is that what remaynes these foresaid legacies paid And what I shall hereafter bequeath by word or deede, my wyffe sonne and daughter shall equally enioye, except shee bee wth Child at my death, then it to have two hundred pounds in such manner and forme as before is set downe for Edward and Amye, of this my last will and Testament I make Executors my two freindes M^r Phillip King and M^r Iohn Daighton givinge them more for a remembrance of my love ffive pound^s a peece once agayne intreatinge them to conclude their loue in the religious education of my children. Dated octauo Ianuarij Anno Domini 1609. Iacob: 7^o. Edward Pudsey. I give vnto my Vncle Helyard Twentie shillinges to be bestowed in a Ring the lyke to my Awnt and to M^r Peeter Week^s, the like and the blacke Dublet that is in my trunke at London I give Tenn shilling^s to Mrs Poulton to be bestowed in a ring all wth Deaths head, Edward Pudsey

Decimo septimo die mensis Novembris Anno Domini mille=
Simo sexcentesimo Decimo Tertio Emanavit Commissio Edithe Pudsey Relicte dicti defuncti
Ad Administrandū bona iura et Credita dicti defuncti iuxta tenorem testament h[....] eo
qd Phillippus Kinge et Iohannes Daighton Executores in testament pred nominat ex
certis causis eos et animos suos in ea parte moven oneri execuconis Testamenti predicti expresse
Renūciarunt prout ex actis Curie plenius liquet, De bene et fideliter Administrando etc ad

sancta Dei Evangelia vigore Comissionis in ea parte als Emanat Iurat. -/ *Exx* -/ /

APPENDIX D:

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE

Portions of Chapter 3 appeared in Emily Rendek, “The Book as Body: Annotated Renaissance Texts and Prosthesis.” *Object Oriented Environs*. Eds. Jeffrey Cohen and Julian Yates (Punctum Books, 2016): 103-111.

